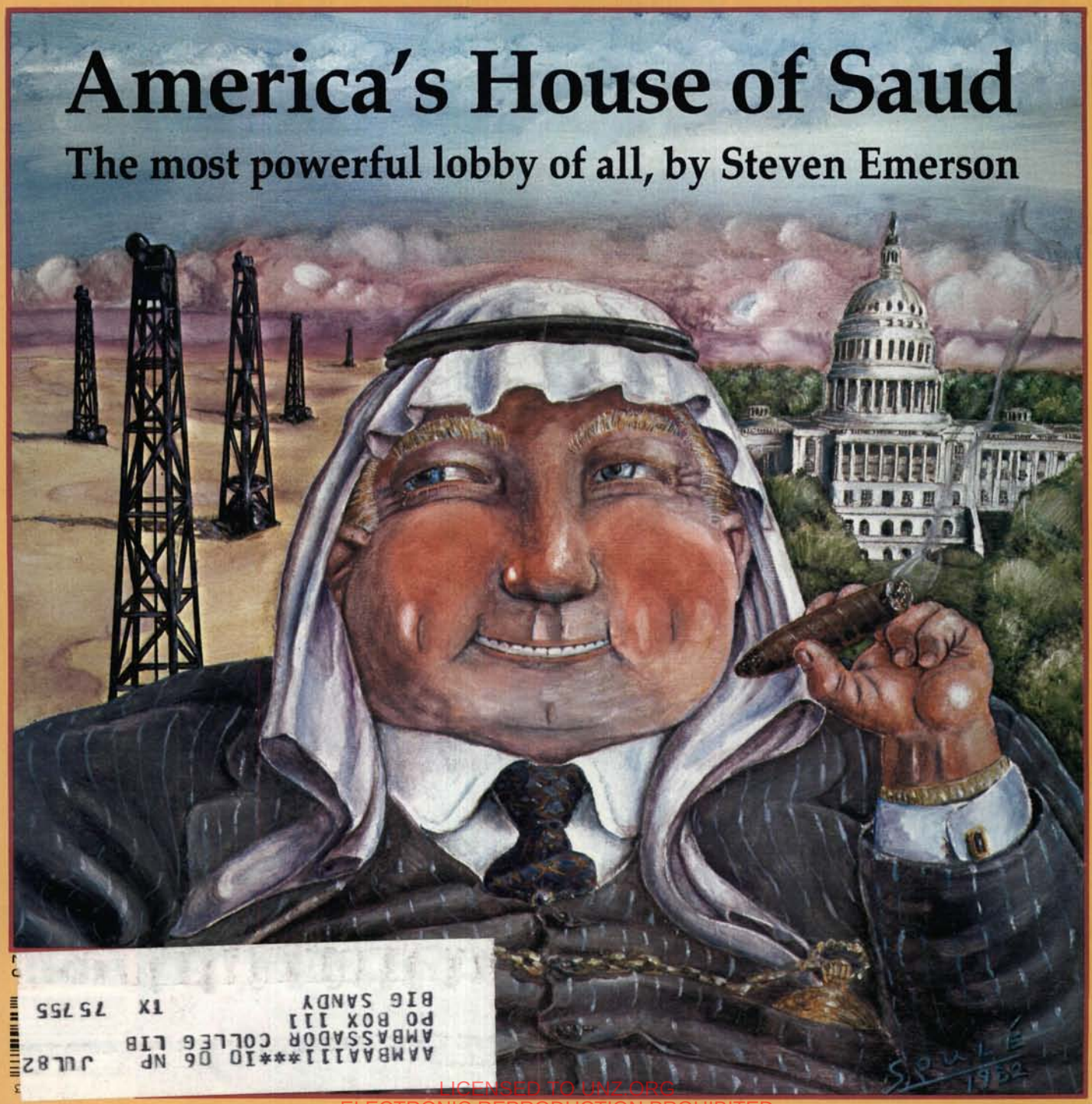
FEBRUARY 17, 1982 • $1.50

The Banks Cover Their Assets, by William J. Quirk

Anne Tyler • Richard Ellmann on James Joyce • Helen Vendler

THE NEW REPUBLIC



AAMBAA111***ID 06 NP JUL82
AMBASSADOR COLLEGE LIB
PO BOX 111
BIG SANDY TX 75755

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

Steely Thunder

To the editors:

In the moistness of his morality lesson ("Liberals Against Liberty," TNR, February 10), Leon Wieseltier distorts both George Kennan's argument and mine. Though Mr. Kennan can certainly speak for himself, I ought to point out—for the benefit of readers familiar with my argument only through Mr. Wieseltier's interpretation—that I never stated, or even suggested, that Moscow's (covert) intervention in Poland was justified. On the contrary, I said it was "outrageous" and that "we have every right to denounce it." Nor did I ever, as he states, "plead" for Yalta, or argue that the division of Europe "should be sustained." Rather I stated that "the division of Europe is an abomination." However, I did point out the obvious fact that while Moscow's East European empire is surely crumbling, a sudden collapse could be dangerous if it triggers a violent Soviet reaction. We do, after all, live in an age of nuclear weapons. I also observed that any dramatic change in Eastern Europe could not only undermine NATO, along with the Warsaw Pact, but reopen the Pandora's box of the German question. I am sorry if Mr. Wieseltier prefers not to think about such things, but they are facts of life nonetheless. Finally, though I am used to being lectured on morality by those of nobler vision and purer heart, I am surprised that Mr. Wieseltier's moral searchlight does not tarry, even for a moment, on the actions of a government over which he has some control rather than merely on those over which he has none.

Ronald Steel
Washington, D.C.

Brideshead Clarified

To the editors:

In regard to the review of *Brideshead Revisited* (TNR, January 27), Brad Leithauser refers to the Flyte family as being Anglo-Catholics: in fact, Waugh meant them to be no such thing. It is a small point, but an important one. *English Catholic* (i.e., Roman Catholic) families such as the Flytes—and the Cecils of Baltimore in America—were a respected but exotic aspect of the English upper-class. Anglo-Catholics (i.e., Anglicans or Episcopalians) are those members of the Anglican Communion who are committed to Catholic theology and (in recent years) progressive politics. The distinction is at once petty and crucial to a proper understanding of *Brideshead*. The Flyte family was intended by Waugh to be Roman Catholic, exotic and aristocratic; not Anglican, prosaic and progressive.

Richard Myers Jr.
Lexington, Virginia

On Golden Years

To the editors:

I am still at a loss to understand how anything as singularly tacky as Stanley Kauffmann's review of *On Golden Pond* (TNR, January 20) gets printed in the first place. How Mr. Kauffmann can muster enough banality to ridicule Jane Fonda's fitness, Katherine Hepburn's nervous afflictions, the sensibilities of senior citizens, and Henry Fonda's mortality all in one paragraph is another bewilderment.

Could Mr. Kauffmann please refrain from making his frequent and unfortunate commentaries on the physical appearance of female performers? I am much more interested in reading about Jane Fonda's acting than about her fitness. If Ms. Fonda's performance is unremarkable, then he should say so—and say why. And when he offers that "it's nearly inhumane to comment" on Ms. Hepburn's nervous affliction, for which she "compensates so blatantly with overdone emotion that would once have scandalized her," Mr. Kauffman is wrong. It is already grossly inhumane. And it is unnecessary. Even if her "compensation" were to detract significantly from Ms. Hepburn's performance—a judgment with which I strongly disagree—surely the reviewer can make reference to it in a manner less vulgar and unfair.

Neither is it Mr. Kauffmann's place to second-guess and to mock with such contempt the interests that senior citizens may have in seeing this film and its protagonists. Mr. Kauffmann implies that it is somehow pervertedly self-indulgent—a sort of vicarious death experience—for the old to watch the screen while two familiar contemporaries face, and come to a last acceptance of, their lives and deaths.

While Hepburn and Fonda have retained their charm and integrity in their old age, Mr. Kauffmann seems unable to approach his later years with any degree of professional judiciousness. Pity.

Carmen Garcia Ruiz
Princeton, New Jersey

Stanley Kauffmann replies:

I'm not "approaching" my later years: by statute I am now a "senior citizen," and the term holds no awe for me. If Ms. Garcia Ruiz had read the next review in the same column, she'd have seen that I commented on Jane Fonda's performance when she contributed more than her "fitness." I can't promise not to comment on the physical appearance of actors, male or female, any more than a music critic could promise not to mention the condition of a piano at a recital, the face/body being the actor's instrument. No one forces Hepburn to appear on the screen these days; if she chooses to do so, and if (as I think) her work is impaired by her physical condition, it would be remiss to ignore the matter. I did not "imply" that I felt an air of necrophilia in the audience: I *stated* it. I also stated why I thought this film a vulgar exploitation of its stars' ages, and gave the latter-day Fredric March as a shining counterexample. As for matching the "charm and integrity" of Hepburn and Henry Fonda, I can't pronounce on the latter quality, and several more centuries of life wouldn't help me get the former.

Cancel My Subscription!

To the editors:

Please cancel my subscription immediately. I'm opposed to your editorials against Begin and Israel. Your magazine, as far as I'm concerned, is pseudo-liberal. A real liberal and open-minded magazine is *The Nation* to which I subscribe. I'm bitterly disappointed in you.

Louis Birnbaum
Los Angeles, California

The editors welcome correspondence from TNR's readers. Letters intended for publication should include the correspondent's full name, address, and telephone number; should be typed double-spaced; and should be held to under 200 words.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Weekly Journal of Opinion

FOUNDED 1914 — WASHINGTON, D.C. — ISSUE 3,501 — FEBRUARY 17, 1982

Editor-in-Chief and President
MARTIN PERETZ

Editor
HENDRIK HERTZBERG

Literary Editor
JACK BEATTY

Executive Editor
MORTON M. KONDRACKE

Senior Editor
CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER

Managing Editor
DOROTHY WICKENDEN

Films
STANLEY KAUFFMANN

Theater
ROBERT BRUSTEIN

Poetry Editor
ROBERT PINSKY

New Republic Books Editor
(Holt, Rinehart & Winston)
MARC GRANETZ

Associate Literary Editor
ANN HULBERT

Production Manager
JENNIFER SOUR

Production Assistant
PRISCILLA TOTTEN

Staff Writers
TIMOTHY NOAH, MICHAEL A. LERNER

Assistant to the Editors
JOAN SHAFFER

Contributing Editors
ROBERT COLES, HENRY FAIRLIE, JOSEPH FEATHERSTONE, PAUL FUSSELL, JOHN KEEGAN, MICHAEL KINSLEY, R.W.B. LEWIS, NATHAN LEWIN, MARK CRISPIN MILLER, JOYCE CAROL OATES, PAUL ROBINSON, RONALD STEEL, ANNE TYLER, NICHOLAS VON HOFFMAN, MICHAEL WALZER, LEON WIESELTIER

Interns
ELISA ISAACSON, JOHN LIEBER, TOM GLIATTO

Publisher
JAMES K. GLASSMAN

Controller
J. KRISTINE KLASMAN

Circulation Director
REED PHILLIPS

Advertising Manager
JOAN M. STAPLETON

Circulation Manager
JEFFREY S. POORMAN

Circulation Associate
WINTER THOMASON

Assistant to the Publisher
CAROLYN WINSTON

Assistant to the Controller
LIVIA ARNAIZ

Accounting Assistant
MARIA ELENA F. SALATTI

Classified Advertising Manager
THERESA MILLER

Leadership Network Advertising
ROBERT F. SENNOTT JR.

Staff Associate
DAVID SEIDEMAN

Back Issues and Reception
TRACY SWANSON

Consultant
ROBERT A. COHEN

2 **CORRESPONDENCE** ..... On Yalta, 'Brideshead,' and movie 'banality.'

4 **TRB FROM WASHINGTON** ..... THREE BAD DREAMS
Visions of economic gloom and global doom.

5 **THE EDITORS** ..... FRIENDLY FIRE
Unless an end is put to government slaughter, Communists will soon rule in El Salvador.

NOTEBOOK

8 **LANNY J. DAVIS** ..... REFORMING THE REFORMS
Beware the law of unintended consequences.

13 **WILLIAM J. QUIRK** ..... THE BANKS COVER THEIR ASSETS
How Western money turned the Polish crisis into a game of financial Russian roulette.

16 **ABRAHAM BRUMBERG** ..... LET POLAND BE HOLLYWOOD
A show that was Not Ready For Prime Time.

18 **STEVEN EMERSON** ..... THE AMERICAN HOUSE OF SAUD: I
THE PETRODOLLAR CONNECTION
A three-month investigation has uncovered one of the most successful manipulations of American business and American policy ever attempted by a foreign power.

26 **STANLEY KAUFFMANN** ..... ON FILMS: LANDSCAPES OF WAR
Civil strife in Lebanon and Latin America.

28 **RICHARD ELLMANN** ..... ON JOYCE'S CENTENNIAL
James Joyce rejected the Church but embraced faith, avoided politics but valued political awareness, and forged a people's conscience.

31 **HELEN VENDLER** ..... THE POETICS OF POWER
Agon: Towards a Theory of Revisionism
by Harold Bloom

32 **MARK SHECHNER** ..... *Three Honest Men:*
Edmund Wilson, F. R. Leavis, Lionel Trilling
edited by Philip French

34 **DONALD HALL** ..... POEM *Whip-Poor-Will*

36 **ROBERT A. DIVINE** ..... AMERICA'S FORGOTTEN WAR
Korea: The Untold Story of the War
by Joseph C. Goulden

39 **ANNE TYLER** ..... ALL IN THE FAMILY
A Mother and Two Daughters
by Gail Godwin

43 **BUFFALO DIARIST** ..... SNOW AND STEEL
It may not be hell, but it is freezing over.

COVER Painting by Robert Soulé for THE NEW REPUBLIC. Article on page 18.

THE NEW REPUBLIC, Volume 186, Number 7, Issue 3,501, February 17, 1982. Published weekly (except the weeks of January 13, July 21, August 18, and September 22) at 1220 19th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036. Telephone (202) 331-7494. Advertising: (202) 331-9787. Leadership Network advertising: (212) 682-4500. Single copy, $1.50; yearly subscriptions, $32; foreign, $39; students, $18. © 1981 by The New Republic, Inc. (ISSN 0028-6583). Second-class postage paid at Washington, DC, and additional mailing offices. Indexed in Readers' Guide and Media Review Digest. Available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106. Member of the Audit Bureau of Circulation. Unsolicited manuscripts are welcome, but cannot be returned unless accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. **Subscribers:** Please send all remittances, changes of address, and inquiries about subscriptions and undelivered copies to **Subscription Service Department, The New Republic, P.O. Box 955, Farmingdale, NY 11737.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB

FROM WASHINGTON

Three Bad Dreams

The Washington news stream is flowing fast these days. Here are three developments that stand out.

Reagan has cast his lot finally with the supply siders. Politicians watch him wonderingly, almost with awe. Many had denigrated him as an amiable chairman of the board who accepted, within the limits of his conservative prejudices, what his subordinates proposed. They did him an injustice, as the story of the State of the Union decision reveals. He rejected the pleas of practically his whole staff, who wanted him to raise taxes to meet the horrendous deficits we are facing. "I have no intention of retreating from our basic program of tax relief," he told the joint session of Congress. It was a radical decision (probably wrong-headed), but nobody can doubt who is in charge: "Raising taxes won't balance the budget," he told the nation firmly. "It will encourage more government spending and less private investment."

So now we have the actual budget figures with the startling deficit, and the President is going out to encourage the troops in the state legislatures. In December the unemployment rate for nonwhite teenagers was an astonishing 39.6 percent. No wonder crime has jumped in the big cities. The unemployment rate for the nation as a whole was 8.9 percent in December, and will probably go higher. Inflation comes down, unemployment goes up. If these trends continue, they will probably determine the fall election.

A second sudden development is the launch of the new federalism. The President wants to reverse government centralization and gigantism. Reporters who went to hear the Cabinet preview of the State of the Union message were startled by the details of the new program. Reagan has a dream of state autonomy that is deeper than his supply-side mystique. Yet it is curious how rapidly the stir over the Reagan federalism program has diminished. Some thought the Reagan plan diversionary, others pointed to the long delay even if Congress acts—eight or nine years, perhaps. Mostly, I think, it is a question of the program itself. Yes, maybe the government is too centralized and some of the bureaus should be curbed. But that doesn't erase the responsibility of the nation for the social goals that have been established over fifty years. Take the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, which represents the nation's acceptance of a direct role in job-making. But as the unemployment rate climbs, the Reagan Administration has cut back the compensation rate for workers and tightened eligibility. It has recently eliminated 300,000 public service CETA jobs.

The third pressing matter that comes to my attention is not the state of employment, nor the state of the union, but the state of the Earth. The Earth is in trouble. When 82-year-old Admiral Hyman Rickover recently gave farewell testimony to Congress, he didn't deal with his own life (which brought him to America in the steerage as a six-year-old immigrant from Russia); he dealt with a subject that most people ignore or prefer not to think about: the perilous state of planet Earth. He was talking about nuclear power, the Force. "I think the human race is going to wreck itself," he said simply. "It's far more important that we get control of this horrible Force and try to eliminate it."

"What do you think is the prospect of nuclear war?" asked the surprised Senator Proxmire.

"I think we will probably destroy ourselves. Some new species will come up that might be wiser."

What in the world was the grim old man thinking of, the man who probably knows more about nuclear risks and has thought more about them than anybody else in the country? Maybe Rickover has been skimming Jonathan Schell's re-

continued on page 40

"Bernstein encourages his readers to stretch their minds along with his... exhilarating." —*Discover*

"A delightful collection that discusses matters exemplifying the 'many aspects' of today's scientific creativity. Heady and complex analyses of the latest in nuclear research, fusion reactors, and physics theory mingle with warmly human views of Einstein, Planck, and other scientific greats."—*Publishers Weekly*

New Yorker science writer Jeremy Bernstein "once again reveals that science is strange, funny, and above all, comprehensible."—Tracy Kidder, author of *The Soul of a New Machine*

SCIENCE OBSERVED
Essays Out of My Mind
JEREMY BERNSTEIN

Main selection, Book-of-the-Month Club/Science
$16.95 at bookstores, or direct from the publisher
BASIC BOOKS, INC.
10 East 53rd St., New York 10022

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC
FEBRUARY 17, 1982

FRIENDLY FIRE

Every day the tragedy in El Salvador comes more to resemble the tragedy in Vietnam. This is not because American troops are likely to be committed. Despite Alexander Haig's recurrent threats, we take President Reagan at his word that U.S. forces won't be used. El Salvador resembles Vietnam because it divides America's government and its public on moral grounds; because the press and liberal opinion leaders are increasingly convinced that America's ally is irretrievably corrupt and that the war is unwinnable; because Democrats in Congress are gearing up to cut off aid. Most of all, El Salvador resembles Vietnam because, at the rate things are going, it will shortly become another Communist country allied with the Soviet Union. But El Salvador, unlike Vietnam, is close to home.

It ought to be agreed among reasonable Americans that it is not in our national interest, or in the interests of freedom, to have Communists take over in El Salvador. The question for Americans ought to be: how can we try to prevent it? There seem to be four basic options: (1) stop U.S. aid, let the opposition win, and hope that the group coming to power will be moderate; (2) press the present Christian Democrat military junta into negotiations with the leftist opposition and form a coalition government which could end the civil war; (3) do what the Administration is doing now—support the junta economically and militarily, back elections as the means of determining El Salvador's political future, and try to reform the country's army and land distribution system; (4) forget the reforms and go for a military victory by the government.

The dangerous trend in American politics—dangerous both to the U.S. and El Salvador—is a polarizing of opinion, with liberals leaning toward Option 1 and conservatives toward Option 4. While there is still time, we need to search for a basis on which Americans can stand together and help El Salvador save itself. The situation in that violence-wracked country may preclude any solution other than a blood-spattered victory by the far right or far left, but the United States ought to do all it can to find one, and that solution will have to unite what remains of El Salvador's divided democratic middle. We favor an amalgam of Options 2 and 3—that is, elections, reforms, conditional military aid, economic assistance, and negotiations. We think it vital that the Administration intensify pressure on the Salvadoran military and government to reform, to conduct fair elections on March 28, and then to negotiate with moderate leftists in the opposition. We think it vital that Democrats in Congress press the Administration to adopt such policies, and not walk away from involvement. If we do walk away, the likelihood is that the opposition, aided by Cuba, will win a violent victory. The U.S. will become a haven for thousands of right-wing refugees and Democrats will bear the onus of whatever repression is inflicted on the Salvadorans remaining behind.

Above all, U.S. policy must see to it that the butchery

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Salvadoran civilians by their own government's security forces is halted. The Salvadoran government also must deal decisively with independent right-wing death squads. There has been some progress on these fronts, but far too little. Orders have been issued by the army high command to spare civilians, and 500 National Guardsmen have been discharged for abuses. Right-wing battalion commanders have been reassigned to noncombat status. Rotation of guardsmen and national police in provincial villages has been instituted to break up longstanding loyalties to local oligarchs who used them to intimidate and even assassinate peasants. At long last, apparently, the murderers of four American religious workers are about to be prosecuted.

THE REAGAN Administration claims that the number of civilian deaths occurring in El Salvador in 1981 was half the number for 1980, but still more than 7,000 died. Responsibility for the killings is disputed, but it's clear that government forces are guilty of hundreds, even thousands, of civilian deaths.

In the latest instance, government forces are accused of killing 926 civilians last December at the village of Mozote in northeast El Salvador. We share the Administration's skepticism of the numbers, especially because initial claims by the left put the death toll at 192, and because the village seems never to have had a population exceeding 300. But the point is that many civilians were killed. And just last week, nineteen persons were shot in a San Salvador suburb after being rounded up by the Army. Imagine the outrage in Washington if these killings had been perpetrated by the Polish, rather than the Salvadoran junta.

The Salvadoran army and government must be told unmistakably that its brutality both increases its opposition at home and undermines American support. We do not agree with Democrats who plan to file suit to stop U.S. aid to El Salvador on grounds that human rights laws have been violated. We think that political questions should be settled in Congress, not in court; in a democracy, litigiousness is a poor substitute for politics. We also think that the Reagan Administration is within its legal right to claim that sufficient human rights progress has been made to justify continued economic and military aid. But the Administration has got to make clear to El Salvador this simple fact: if atrocities committed by its security forces do not end, American aid will end. The Salvadoran government is not only killing innocent people. It is killing itself.

Not all the violence is on the right, however.

What information can be obtained suggests that leftist military activity has gone in waves. From mid-1979 to mid-1981, the pattern was one of kidnapping, bombing, intimidation of villagers, and assassination of government supporters. During the last half of 1981, the left concentrated on economic targets—bridges, electric installation, banks, stores—though innocents got killed in the process. Now the left is trying to disrupt the election process by direct violence against villages and by intimidation of potential voters. The left carefully timed and executed a major publicity coup, timed for last week's Congressional aid hearing. It staged a successful rocket attack on the government's biggest air base, conveying the impression that it can strike anywhere in the country, and is winning the war. Two weeks ago, members of the left took reporters for the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* on a guided tour of Morazan Province and got front-page coverage in stories portraying the guerrillas as noble savages and the Salvadoran Army as mere savages. The acting archbishop of El Salvador, Arturo Rivas y Damas, has criticized both sides in the struggle when necessary, but last year he said that a majority of the country's refugees are fleeing the guerrillas, not the government, and he added that the guerrillas "have made violence and Marxism their watchword, and because of that the majority have turned their backs on them."

Americans, especially liberals, are too eager to cling to romantic notions of the guerrillas or agrarian democrats. How many Americans know, for example, that the Unified Revolutionary Directorate, the supreme executive of the Salvadoran insurgency, was put together in Havana? How many have ever heard of Salvador Cayetano Carpio, leader of the Farabundo Marti Popular Liberation Forces, the largest and most powerful guerrilla group? (He happens to be the former secretary general of the Communist Party of El Salvador, but quit in the days when Moscow and Cuba were discouraging revolutionary violence.) The American press isn't solely to blame for the widespread impression that Guillermo Ungo and his fellow Social Democrats are leading the left, when in fact they number only several hundred persons, as against 3,000 to 4,000 full-time guerrillas and another 5,000 or more part-time armed combatants. The Reagan Administration simply has not made the case that Ungo and the Revolutionary Democratic Front are being used as a front by decidedly anti-democratic revolutionaries who would surely take over if the opposition achieved a military victory.

IT'S IRONIC THAT many opponents of U.S. involvement in Vietnam complained that this country failed to live up to the provision in the 1954 Geneva Accords requiring elections, and now are complaining that the Reagan Administration is backing an electoral solution in El Salvador. If the Salvadoran left really were as popular as many of its sympathizers in this country and Europe believe, it would have made some effort to appear on the ballot March 28, as President José Napoleon Duarte has urged, instead of threatening to kill or cut off the fingers of those who vote. The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

left's reply has been that any opposition candidates who run would be killed by government security forces or right-wing death squads; and in fact many opposition leaders have been murdered in El Salvador. But death threats and coup attempts have been launched against President Duarte, too, and he has found the courage to remain and work for democracy and reform. If the left had wanted to participate in elections, arrangements surely could have been worked out for their protection, including international supervision, tight security protection, and campaigning by radio and television. If the opposition truly were favored by the masses, though—as it was in Nicaragua when Somoza rejected a referendum on his presidency—then its candidates would be voted in without campaigning. If the army then stole the election, that would be apparent for all to see. The election route can be a fair one for El Salvador. It is regarded as such—though most Americans don't know it—by the Roman Catholic Church, which has urged Salvadorans to participate and has condemned the left's efforts to disrupt the vote.

BUT ELECTIONS ALONE, no matter how fair they are, will not be enough to give either internal or international credibility to the government. Nor will they end the fighting. The only way to gain credibility—and possibly to achieve peace—is for the government to find ways of encouraging democratic-minded oppositionists to move away from the far left. A meaningful alliance between democratic forces inside and outside the Salvadoran government would run counter to the interests not only of the extreme left but also of the extreme right. And this is where the truly hard choices must be made. There are extreme right-wing elements within the Salvadoran government and army whose values and interests are opposed to those of the United States—and to those of President Duarte and his supporters. These elements are as much the enemies of freedom as are the Marxist-Leninists. At some point—sooner rather than later—both the Salvadoran and American governments must face up to the necessity of removing those elements from power. The cost of doing that could be as little as making major reforms in the military structure or as great as risking a civil war within the civil war. But in this appalling and horrifying situation, where plainly there are no good alternatives, this may be the only way to allow a democratic solution to emerge.

It may be that negotiations can't work, but they ought to be tried as soon as a newly elected government is in place. Talks certainly offer more hope than a continuing bloodbath, and they will help maintain American support for U.S. aid to El Salvador. But first and foremost, government brutality against civilians must halt, and quickly, or Congress and the American people will let El Salvador sink. That would be a tragedy for El Salvador and for us.

NOTEBOOK

□ SINCE ITS INCEPTION the Reagan Administration has done its best to sabotage the Office of Endangered Species by cutting its funds for research and recovery programs and ensuring that no new species are added to the endangered list. Under the auspices of James "Bulldozer" Watt, the Interior Department has ordered the office to transfer the alligator and African leopard from the "endangered" lists to the less costly "threatened" list. (Presumably, the laws of voluntarism will provide for the needier cases.) In addition, Minnesota has been directed to assume responsibility for the protection of the state's timber wolves. Pending a decision on whether to deprive the wolf of its threatened status, state officials would be authorized to permit hunters and trappers to "harvest" a sizable crop of them. The Endangered Species Act comes up for reauthorization later this year. But 1982 also marks the 200th anniversary of the designation of that imperiled bird which dons the Presidential Seal as our national symbol. The White House plans to celebrate this august occasion with a "Hairy Eagle Day."

□ DISTORTED ECHOES from the past: "The only thing New Jersey has to fear is the economic failure of the nation itself." (From New Jersey Governor Thomas Kean's inaugural address.) Republicans like to hedge their bets.

□ DEFENDING HIS CAUTIOUS POLICY of cooperation with the Soviet bloc during the current Polish crisis, German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt explained, "We hesitate to raise our voices louder, for the guilt-ridden history of Germans and Poles compels us to restraint." That is a strange lesson indeed to learn from history. For the Germans to keep silent while the Poles are being oppressed once again is hardly a laudable, or even a logical, way to atone for having oppressed Poles in the past. Moreover, the Germans undertook their oppression of Poland in 1939 after making a deal (the Hitler-Stalin pact) to share the task with the Russians. What kind of repentance is it for the Germans to make clear this time around that the Russians can do as they please in Poland without worrying about a German response?

□ HOW FAR IS THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION willing to go to protect the rights of those whose freedom is usurped by brutal Communist regimes? Not as far as its rhetoric would have us believe. On January 15 the government broke with long-standing policy by allowing a Cuban refugee to be deported. Just 48 hours after 20-year-old Andres Rodriguez Hernandez arrived in the U.S. after traveling as a stowaway aboard a Panamanian freighter, he was on his way home, where the government routinely fires and harasses even those citizens who apply for *legal* exit visas. And now,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

just four months after U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick denounced the "savagery" of Ethiopia's pro-Soviet regime, we find that the Administration is planning to deport thousands of expatriated Ethiopians. There is a remarkable irony in all of this, but it is little comfort to Andres Rodriguez Hernandez and the unfortunate Ethiopians.

□ JAMES FALLOWS ARGUES in *National Defense* that technological advances in weaponry often outstrip usefulness. The same might well be said of the perfume industry. It has developed a new scent, "Sinsemilla," which recreates the sweet and heavy fragrance of a particularly potent marijuana flower. A handful of reformed pharmacology fanatics may take to the stuff, but our guess is that most of the little glass bottles will languish on warehouse shelves. After all, to enjoy marijuana for its scent makes as little sense as admiring Ezra Pound for his politics, or beef tongue for its appearance.

□ FIFTY YEARS AGO in THE NEW REPUBLIC: "According to the experts themselves, there is no hope for defense against the existing engines for the new war. The rival Powers are armed with weapons for mortal blows at each other, while bearing no shields. (Yet this vulnerability, in the past, has been no guarantee of peace.) Only partially effective defenses might be set up against manifold dangers. As in the Middle Ages, our cities could be turned into fortresses, only in this era they might be specially prepared for attack by gas and explosive rather than the sword. The most sensible proposals made, as a result of the inquiry by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, are that we should all take to living under the earth with the worms and the moles." (Editorial, February 17, 1932.)

The law of unintended consequences.

REFORMING THE REFORMS

ONCE AGAIN the Democrats are rewriting the party's rules for nominating their Presidential candidate. The reforms recommended in January by the Hunt Commission, chaired by North Carolina Governor James Hunt, have been hailed for the improvements they promise in campaign procedures. But the latest changes, like earlier party reforms, are likely to produce far-reaching consequences that not only are unintended, but may be precisely those that party leaders are trying hardest to avoid. The Hunt Commission meets in the first week of February to approve the changes, which will be passed on to the Democratic National Committee for final adoption in the spring.

The pattern of reform efforts producing unintended results should be a familiar one by now. The changes instituted by the Democratic Party's three previous reform commissions between 1968 and 1980 were essentially a response to the experience of the 1968 Convention. These reforms created a more open, democratic, and representative party. But they also produced, unintentionally, an excessive proliferation of primaries (from 17 in 1968 to 35 in 1980, when 71 percent of the delegates were elected in the primaries). As a result, the influence of money and media in the nomination process was enhanced, the influence of party and elected officials reduced.

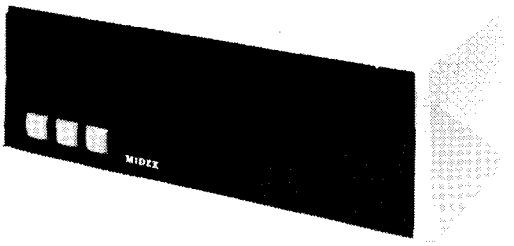
IT WAS PRINCIPALLY the memory of Jimmy Carter's 1976 campaign and nomination that brought party regulars and reformers, elected officials, labor representatives, and Mondale and Kennedy supporters to the same conclusion in 1982: new reforms were needed to prevent an outsider from using the primaries to lock up the nomination without the support of the party establishment and before the national convention could meet. Thus the elements of the law of unintended consequences are present once again: a past set of problems is perceived; factions interpret the effectiveness of each solution according to their own self-interest; and few pay much attention to the cumulative effect of all of the changes. Patrick Caddell, a member of the commission's Technical Advisory Committee and former pollster to President Carter, urged the commission at the beginning of its deliberations to "avoid the natural tendency to identify this year's problems and formulate this year's solutions without a thoughtful process that regards the system as a whole. . . ." Now, as he contemplates the Hunt Commission's January decisions and the general rejoicing at the atmosphere of party unity which accompanied them, Caddell says: "It reminds me of people dancing around a time bomb."

The first change approved by the Hunt Commission requires strict enforcement of the rule that no state may begin its delegate selection process before March 13, 1984. The only explicit exemptions are granted to New Hampshire, which will still hold the first primary (on March 6), and Iowa, which can hold its party caucus a week earlier than New Hampshire's primary (instead of six weeks earlier, as the 1980 calendar designated). The two purposes of this change are to shorten the nominating process and to lessen the importance of New Hampshire's and Iowa's returns. But surely there is no practicable way, short of barring credit cards, to prevent a candidate from getting an early start on his campaign. And the shortening to one week of the gap between New Hampshire and Iowa could mean that both states will be perceived to be more important, since there will be less time to recoup

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Burglar Alarm

A computerized burglar alarm requires no installation and protects your home or business. It is the first real alternative to a thousand dollar or more professional system.



The Midex 55 alarm system measures only 4" x 10½" by 7" yet protects you like much larger and expensive security systems.

The concept is simple. Provide all electronic functions of a professional wired together system. Put sensing and control into one easy-to-use device. Use large scale integration of solid state components to achieve lower cost and greater reliability. Here are some of the exciting features:

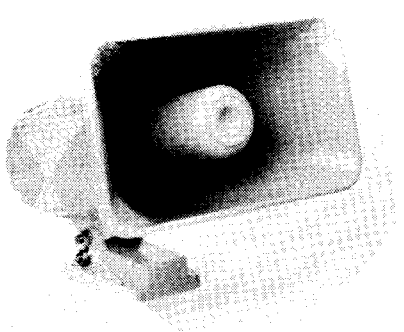
Invisible Protection. The Midex 55 protects your home using exactly the same technology that police radars use to catch speeding cars and trucks. When you are not at home, the Midex 55 generates a low energy radar field that detects anyone who moves in a designated area of your house. The protection pattern is an adjustable tear drop shape with maximum dimensions of 50 x 20 feet.

Loud Alarm. When the system detects an intruder, it turns on a loud police type electronic siren. The sound is loud enough to cause pain. It is loud enough to drive a burglar away before he can steal or damage your valuables. It is loud enough to alert your neighbors and, more important, loud enough to warn you not to enter your home before the police arrive.

Computerized Controls. To turn the system on, you punch in your personalized 4 digit access code. You now have 30 seconds to leave your home or office. When you return, you enter and disarm the system with your access code. You have 30 seconds to do that also.

When the Midex senses an intruder, it remains silent for 30 seconds. It then sounds the alarm until 8 minutes after the burglar leaves. The alarm then shuts off and resets, once again ready to do its job. This shut-off feature, not found on many expensive systems, means that your alarm won't go wailing all night long while you're away.

Standby Power. Should AC power fail or a smart burglar cut your AC power lines, the Midex 55 automatically switches to FAIL-SAFE operation using a built-in rechargeable battery pack. You are protected no matter what.

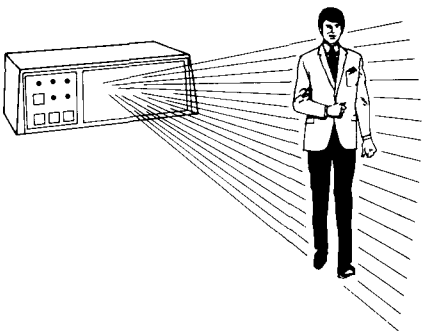


The powerful blast horn has a 120dB output and makes a sound so loud it causes pain.

EXPANDABLE SYSTEM

You can set up the Midex in your own home in minutes. It looks like a stereo component. Just plug it into a wall socket, aim and adjust its protection pattern and connect two wires to the powerful alarm blast horn SP-30. If you wish, you can connect two alarm blast horns. If you connect 2 blast horns, we recommend one outside and one inside. A test light allows you to easily determine the area of coverage of the protection pattern. A thumb wheel lets you adjust it to your needs.

As an extra security measure, you can connect one or more panic buttons to the Midex. The panic buttons activate the alarm even with the radar protection pattern turned off. But even if you don't use the expansion features, the Midex is complete, ready to protect you, just as it arrives in its well-protected carton.



The adjustable pattern has a range up to 50 feet.

NO MORE FALSE ALARMS

Compared with other burglar alarms like ultrasonic systems, the Midex has almost no chance of false alarms, since it is not affected by traffic noise, plane noise, air conditioner turbulence, telephones or strong outside winds. Only the motion of the burglar walking through the radar field can set it off.

COMPARED AGAINST OTHERS

The Midex compares with much more expensive professionally installed systems. Yet it costs no more than do-it-yourself alarms purchased at retail. In a recent article, a leading consumer magazine rated the Midex tops in space protection, alarm siren power and immunity from false alarms. Don't be confused. There is no system under $1000 that provides you with the same protection.

U.L. APPROVED SYSTEM

If you have owned a burglar alarm for more than a year, there's a good chance that it has required service. The Midex, however, is solid state and built with the same heavy duty components in industrial systems. The Midex is made by Solfan Systems, Inc., the leader in the production of radar detectors for commercial and industrial security systems. Solfan has made more than half a million industrial radar sensors and over 100,000 Midex 55. Will the Midex ever need service? No product is perfect. If you ever have a problem, call us on our toll free "help line" at (800) 227-8167. The product has a limited 1 year parts and labor warranty.

STANDING BEHIND A PRODUCT

The Midex protects more than 100,000 American homes. But the true test of how it performs is in your home or office. That is why we provide a one month trial period. We give you the opportunity to see how fail safe and easy to operate the Midex system is and how thoroughly it protects you and your loved ones. Decide after one month whether or not you want to keep it. If you decide to keep it, you'll own the best. If not, return your unit for a full and prompt refund. There is no risk.

Purchase the Midex 55 now for $199.95 and the SP-30 blast horn for $39.95. We recommend the purchase of two blast horns. To order, simply send your check to the address shown below. California residents add 6% sales tax. Credit card buyers may call our toll free number below. There are no postage or handling charges. The unit will be sent to you complete with all instructions.

Midex gives you everything you could possibly expect from a burglar alarm: 1) a professional grade system at a very reasonable price, 2) toll free telephone assistance, 3) the chance to buy a unit in complete confidence, knowing that you may return it if it's not exactly what you want. You can't lose.

Computer technology has produced the ultimate security system. Order your Midex 55 without obligation today.

midex

665 Clyde Avenue
Mountain View, CA 94043
(415) 964-7020 in Calif.
(800) 227-8167

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from an Iowa defeat, as Reagan was able to do in 1980.

The Hunt Commission's second major change requires that about 14 percent of the National Convention delegates be uncommitted to any candidate. This uncommitted block would be in addition to the committed delegates selected in the primaries and caucuses. It would consist of two-thirds of the Democratic members of the House and Senate, and of state and local party and elected officials. This change, as intended, would ensure that elected and party officials attend the convention. The commission also believes that by forcing the party's nominee to seek the support of a large, uncommitted block of Senators and Representatives, he will be in a better position to deal effectively with Congress after his election, again a response to the Jimmy Carter experience. (It should be remembered, however, that Ronald Reagan's effectiveness with Congress has not been impeded simply because he won his nomination in the primaries.)

But this change could increase tension between the women's movement in the party and male state and local party leaders. Since the "equal division" rule of the party charter requires that 50 percent of the convention delegates be women, and since the Congressional portion of the uncommitted delegates will necessarily be heavily weighted in favor of men, state parties will be required to make up the female-male gap by giving women most of the remaining at-large delegate slots. This will not sit well with prominent state and local elected officials and party leaders who, as a result, might be forced to stay home.

There could also be pressure on the House Democratic Caucus to ensure that the few women who are members (there are now ten) are selected as delegates. This could mean that a conservative Democrat like Maryland Representative Beverly Byron, a loyal supporter of Reagan and his domestic programs, will win a delegate slot at the expense of a more liberal, or at least a more loyal, Democratic Congressman.

ANOTHER SOURCE of divisiveness is the potential for uncommitted party and elected officials to play a decisive role in determining the nomination. In a tight contest the uncommitted block of 14 percent could prove decisive in the outcome. The losing candidate and his supporters—especially if they came into the convention in the lead—would not be likely to forgive or forget very easily.

The third major change sanctions a loophole in the general rule of proportional representation, which requires that candidates receive a percentage of delegates in approximate proportion to the number of votes they receive in the primaries or caucuses. Under proportional representation, a losing candidate can still win a substantial share of the delegates even though the successful candidate has won by a large margin. This is particularly important in the larger states.

The loophole proposed by the Hunt Commission would allow direct election of delegates by Congressional district. This means that delegates can be individually listed on the Congressional district primary ballot, and they will all be elected if they receive the largest number of votes, even when other delegate candidates have received substantial support. This change will have the desired result of increasing the importance of large state primaries, since a candidate will have the opportunity of winning all the delegates in every Congressional district primary even though he has only won the state vote by a narrow margin.

BUT THE LOOPHOLE, when combined with the effects of the other two changes, produces unintended and ironic consequences. Backers of the change argue that the direct election loophole will be used in large-state, late-scheduled primaries, such as California's, and thus encourage such states not to move up their primary dates. But state parties, like human beings, are more likely to act in their own immediate self-interest. Caucus states that will still be subject to proportional representation will be tempted to change to a primary system. Because of the possible increased importance of the Iowa caucus and the New Hampshire primary, and the likelihood that many of the earlier-scheduled states will convert to a direct election system, many states with late primaries may also want to make the most of the rules by converting to direct election systems and by moving their primaries (or caucuses) into March and April.

California will be the key catalyst in this process. As the schedule now stands, 37 percent of the delegates will be chosen by March 31, and 52 percent by May 1. As one California Democratic activist put it, "We're tired of being ignored by the press and the candidates. We're not going to risk again the game being over by the time June rolls around." California Democratic leaders indicate that they are planning to move up their primary date to the second week of April. Some even suggest that they will hold their primary on the same day as New York's (the last week of March). Both New York and California party leaders indicate their states will convert to a direct election system. With California moving into March or April, 62 percent of the delegates will be chosen by May 1.

If California makes this move, many of the other states with May and June primaries and caucuses will quickly follow suit. The likely result: a system dominated more, not less, by the primaries; a convention that is less, not more, deliberative than previous ones; and a campaign that is essentially over by May 1—the deadline, by the way, for selection of Senate and House delegates.

The one proposal condemned at the outset of this reform effort by nearly all party leaders and elected officials was the use of a national primary to decide the party's nominee. Yet if many states leapfrog to the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

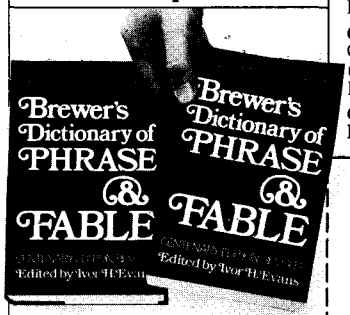
QPB SURVIVAL KIT

QPB members will take the '80s in stride with the best and most helpful books on money, energy, environment, do-it-yourself. And, of course, other important works of fiction and nonfiction.

QPB books are softcover editions in hardcover sizes, durably bound and printed on fine paper. But they cost up to 65% less than their hardcover counterparts.

Save money. Survive the '80s. Join QPB.

Compare



Hardcover: $25.95 **QPB Softcover: $12.95**

454. Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase & Fable. Centenary Edition, Revised. Edited by Ivor H. Evans
Hardcover: $25.95 **QPB Ed: $12.95**

487. Reinhart's Women
Thomas Berger
Hardcover: $13.95 **QPB Ed: $6.95**

512. The Gate of Heavenly Peace
The Chinese and Their Revolution, 1895-1980. Jonathan D. Spence
Hardcover: $19.95 **QPB Ed: $8.95**

186. The Minds of Billy Milligan
Daniel Keyes
Hardcover: $15.50 **QPB Ed: $7.50**

200. The Art of Cooking for Two Coralie Castle and Astrid Newton, and **One Pot Meals.** Margaret Gin (2 Vols.) **QPB: $10.90**

216. The State of the Language
Edited by Leonard Michaels and Christopher Ricks
Hardcover: $14.95 **QPB: $7.95**

234. Five Economic Challenges
Robert L. Heilbroner and Lester C. Thurow
Hardcover: $10 **QPB Ed: $5.50**

295. After the Fact: The Art of Historical Detection. (2 Vols.)
James West Davidson and Mark Hamilton Lytle. **QPB: $12.50**

327. Riddley Walker. Russell Hoban
Hardcover: $13.95 **QPB Ed: $6.95**

142. The Physicians' and Pharmacists' Guide to Your Medicines. The United States Pharmacopeial Convention
Hardcover: $20 **QPB: $7.95**

532. From Bauhaus to Our House
Tom Wolfe
Hardcover: $10.95 **QPB Ed: $5.95**

580. World's Spring
Edited by Vladimir Gakov
Hardcover: $12.95 **QPB Ed: $6.95**

605. On Writing Well: An Informal Guide to Writing Nonfiction (Second Edition). William Zinsser
Hardcover: $8.95 **QPB: $4.95**

646. Letters: A Novel. John Barth
Hardcover: $16.95 **QPB: $9.50**

351. The American Medical Association's Handbook of First Aid and Emergency Care
Developed by the American Medical Association. **QPB: $4.95**

381. The New York Times Book of Wine. Terry Robards
Hardcover: $14.95 **QPB: $5.95**

389. Sex in History. Reay Tannahill
Hardcover: $17.95 **QPB: $7.95**

108. Build Your Own Furniture
Peter Stamberg. **QPB: $7.95**

Let's try each other for 6 months.

Quality Paperback Book Club, Inc., Middletown, Pa. 17057.
Please enroll me in QPB and send the 3 choices I've listed below. Bill me $3, plus shipping and handling charges. I understand that I am not required to buy another book. You will send me *QPB Review* (if my account is in good standing) for 6 months. If I have not bought and paid for at least 1 book in every six-month period, you may cancel my membership. A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment. QB 127-2

Indicate by number the 3 books or sets you want ☐ ☐ ☐

Name_____ 2-16
(Please print clearly)

Address_____ **Apt.**_____

City_____ **State**_____ **Zip**_____

How membership works.
1. You receive **QPB Review** 15 times each year (about every 3½ weeks). Each issue reviews a new **Main Selection,** plus scores of Alternates. QPB books are softcover editions in hardcover sizes, but they cost up to 65% less.
2. If you want the **Main Selection** do nothing. It will be shipped to you automatically. If you want one or more Alternate books—or no book at all—indicate your decision on the Reply Form always enclosed and return it by the date specified.
3. **Bonus books for Bonus Points.** For each QPB book or set you take (except for the books in this offer), you earn Bonus Points which entitle you to choose any of our softcover books. You pay only shipping and handling charges.
4. **Return privilege.** If *QPB Review* is delayed and you receive the **Main Selection** without having had 10 days to notify us, you may return it for credit at our expense.
5. **Cancellations.** You may cancel membership at any time by notifying QPB. We may cancel your membership if you elect not to buy and pay for at least one book in every six-month period.

Prices generally higher in Canada.

397. The Unabridged Mark Twain, Vol. I. Edited by Lawrence Teacher
QPB: $8.95

114. The Unabridged Mark Twain, Vol. II. Edited by Lawrence Teacher
QPB: $8.95

116. Information Please Almanac
Atlas and Yearbook 1982.
Hardcover: $9.95 **QPB: $4.95**

432. Celebrations of Life
René Dubos
Hardcover: $12.95 **QPB Ed: $6.95**

617. The Gift of Good Land
Further Essays Cultural and Agricultural. Wendell Berry
Hardcover: $16.50 **QPB: $6.95**

447. Myths of Greece and Rome
Thomas Bulfinch. Compiled by Bryan Holme. **QPB: $8.95**

Join now. Pick any 3 books or sets for $1 each - with no obligation to buy another book.

618. Life in Darwin's Universe
Evolution and the Cosmos.
Gene Bylinsky
Hardcover: $17.95 **QPB Ed: $8.95**

628. Garfield at Large and **Garfield Gains Weight.** (2 Vols.) Jim Davis
QPB: $7.90

645. Sauce for the Goose and **Tunnel of Love** (2 Vols.)
Peter De Vries
Hardcover: $18.90 **QPB Ed: $9.50**

644. Pills That Don't Work. Sidney M. Wolfe, M.D., Christopher M. Coley and the Health Research Group. Hardcover: $15 **QPB: $5.95**

112. Inversions: A Catalog of Calligraphic Cartwheels. Scott Kim
QPB: $7.95

614. The Woodwright's Shop
A Practical Guide to Traditional Woodcraft. Roy Underhill
Hardcover: $19.95 **QPB: $9.50**

527. The Collected Poems
Sylvia Plath. Edited by Ted Hughes
Hardcover: $17.50 **QPB: $6.50**

520. Borges: A Reader. Edited by Emir Rodriguez Monegal and Alastair Reid. Hardcover: $17.50 **QPB: $7.95**

177. Let's Go: The Guide to Budget Travel in the USA 1982.
Written by the Harvard Student Agencies, Inc. Edited by Peter S. P. Sanborn. **QPB: $5.95**

516. The Book of Rock Lists. Dave Marsh and Kevin Stein. **QPB: $7.95**

661. Washington Itself: An Informal Guide to the Capital of the United States. E.J. Applewhite
Hardcover: $15.50 **QPB: $7.95**

149. Peter the Great
His Life and World. Robert K. Massie
Hardcover: $19.95 **QPB: $7.95**

334. Tassajara Cooking: A Vegetarian Cooking Book *and* **The Tassajara Bread Book.** (2 Vols.) (Illus.) Edward Espe Brown. **QPB: $8.90**

QPB **The first book club for smart people who aren't rich.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

front of the calendar and convert to a direct election primary system, a national primary is effectively what the Democratic Party will have.

And there is another possible unintended effect of the direct election loophole which has been largely overlooked, but may prove to be the most dangerous of all for the party: the potential for a one-issue, conservative candidate running in a multicandidate, liberal-moderate field to sweep most of the delegates in direct election states, even though he has only a minority of the vote. This candidate could do more than splinter party unity; conceivably he could win the nomination.

The Hunt Commission can still take certain remedial steps to avoid these unintended consequences without violating the basic intent of its three major changes. Some Hunt Commission members want to forbid those states that choose to move up their primaries from converting to a direct election system. Another proposal is to create incentives to persuade primary states to keep to their 1980 schedule or to convert to a party caucus system. These incentives include delegate bonuses, the availability of "winner-take-all," an increased percentage of at-large delegates, and such special favors as increased representation on key convention committees, preferential seating, or additional convention tickets.

THE SIMPLEST, and the only clearly effective, remedy is to impose a calendar and system "freeze" that would prevent states from moving to an earlier primary and forbid caucus states from switching to a primary system. But this is not going to be accepted by the Hunt Commission. It will be seen as unfairly directed at California and as an infringement by the national party on state party autonomy. And the truth is, no faction really minds the nomination being determined in the primaries by May 1—as long as its preferred candidate is left holding the flag.

Assuming that the Hunt Commission's January decisions remain basically in place for the 1984 campaign, and knowing that even students of the law of unintended consequences cannot foresee all of the effects of the commission's changes, I offer the following advice to Walter Mondale, Edward Kennedy, and a hypothetical regionally based dark horse candidate. It is intended to help them make the most of their chances under the new rules.

To Mr. Mondale: Get thee to Des Moines. You will be expected to win in Iowa because Minnesota is a neighboring state and because you will be perceived, forgive me for saying so, as carrying the Jimmy Carter political base. If you defeat Kennedy in Iowa, he will have difficulty breaking the momentum you will carry into New Hampshire's primary within a week's time. If you beat Kennedy in New Hampshire, you will be in excellent shape (but beware of the dark horse; see below). Of course you should also seek an exemption for Minnesota so that it can hold its caucuses prior to March 13 and on the same day as Iowa, and you should oppose granting a similar exemption for Massachusetts. (I'm sure your campaign manager can find a way to make the distinction.) Do your best to prevent California from moving its primary into April or, worse, to the same day as New York's. If Kennedy can sweep both those states on the same day, that national primary I referred to could mean you'll be back in Washington filing briefs before the cherry blossoms bloom.

To Mr. Kennedy: For the most part, read my advice to Mr. Mondale and do the reverse—seek an exemption for Massachusetts, not Minnesota; move up California, if possible, to the same date as New York. Your strategies for Iowa and New Hampshire are more delicate. You are likely to have difficulty recovering, in the little time available to you, from the media-generated perception that a New Hampshire defeat is a devastating blow to your candidacy, and you must therefore concentrate your early resources and time there. On the other hand, the effect of a big Mondale victory in Iowa will be difficult to counteract in New Hampshire in one week's time, so you can't afford to ignore Iowa entirely. A tentative recommendation would be to contest Mondale in the Iowa caucuses just enough to keep him busy there, but not enough to prevent you from discounting the state as "Fritz's backyard." If you can run strongly in Iowa, win decisively in New Hampshire, and then sweep the direct election delegates in New York and California (with luck on the same day later in March), you'll be ready to mop up in April and start planning your campaign against Ronald Reagan (or George Bush).

To the regionally based Mr. Dark Horse: The Hunt Commission's changes could offer you more advantages than any other candidate. Remember George Bush's strategy in 1980 and follow it. Iowa is the key. You must start organizing early—I would suggest tomorrow morning. If you can win or even come in a close second, you'll become an instant media star, and Mondale will be seriously wounded. But unlike poor George Bush in 1980, you won't have to worry about maintaining your momentum for the six weeks prior to New Hampshire. In fact, if you've also done a good job organizing early in New Hampshire, a win in Iowa offers you an excellent opportunity to use your newfound credibility to defeat Kennedy in New Hampshire the following week. If you accomplish this, the Stop You effort will begin. But don't let that worry you. You'll be on the cover of every national newsmagazine and money will be pouring in just in time for a winning blitz in Illinois and New York (and California if it moves up its primary). You could have the nomination wrapped up by the end of April.

If this dark horse scenario turns out to be correct—or even if it seems mildly plausible—then the ultimate

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

irony of the law of unintended consequences will have prevailed. A reform commission which set out with an overwhelming consensus to deemphasize the primaries, to ensure a deliberative convention, and to make it more difficult for an unknown to win the nomination without significant support of elected officials and party leaders will have written rules which produce the following result: a dark horse, regionally based, "outsider" candidate with time to spare will surprise the experts and do well in Iowa, win in New Hampshire just a week later, carry his momentum into the caucus and big primary states in March and April, and, combined with a solid base of delegates from his own region, lock up the nomination months before the convention.

Sound familiar?

LANNY J. DAVIS

Lanny J. Davis is a member of the Democratic National Committee from Maryland and author of *The Emerging Democratic Majority* (Stein and Day, 1974).

Financial Russian roulette and its consequences.

THE BANKS COVER THEIR ASSETS

BY WILLIAM J. QUIRK

ANY WAY YOU look at it, the Western bankers behaved badly in their response to the bloody suppression of Polish freedom. "I don't mean to sound brutal," said one senior Frankfurt banker. But, he went on to point out, the Polish government is not governing, coal exports are 20 percent lower than they were last year, and "I now see the chance for Poland to return to a more normal working schedule, and this could be a good thing for the banks." One U.S. banker, holding a chunk of Polish loans, said, "Most bankers think authoritarian governments are good because they impose discipline." Shortly before the Polish coup, the bankers had been in Moscow checking on the status of their famous "umbrella" theory—the peculiar notion that the Russians will pay off all Communist debts. (See "Dollars for Detente," TNR, March 31, 1979, and "The Polish Bailout," TNR, June 27, 1981.) The *Financial Times* reported that the bankers seemed to be reassured because it was their view that the "military takeover in Poland last weekend obliges the Soviet Union all the more to come to the assistance of the Poles with hard currency."

There is plenty of need for hard currency, since Western banks and governments have loaned over $80 billion to Russia and the Comecon countries. They have loaned $27 billion to Poland—$16 billion came from the bankers and $11 billion from the governments. Until the past few weeks, when part of the overdue interest was paid, the Poles had not paid any interest on their loans since March 26, 1981. Rumania, owing $11.45 billion to the banks alone, is also in arrears. Nonetheless, the bankers will not call the loans in default. If you auctioned off the $80 billion of Communist loans, or the $27 billion of Polish loans, you would get very little money. Maybe the speculators who still trade in Czarist Imperial Russian bonds would bid, but no reasonable person would be interested. Yet, as the accountants figure it, the Communist loans appear as shiny assets on the books of our thinly capitalized banks, preserving their solvency. To some critics that is a lot of Kielbasa.

Suddenly the meaning of detente, after years of being shrouded in pious rhetoric, has become clear. It is the ultimate bailout—the bailout by the Western democracies of bankrupt Soviet totalitarianism. In the early 1970s, after more than fifty years of Communist rule, the Russian economy was unable to feed and house its people. If it cut back its disproportionate military spending, the government would dangerously weaken itself against internal and external enemies. The satellites were perpetually either in revolt or approaching it, and the loss of their resources (Polish coal was a major source of hard currency) could be a death blow to the economy.

Consequently, the Russians conceived of detente as an aid program designed to prop up their collapsing empire. The new system was based on Western money, since the Communists had none. They had some gold, but they were saving that for a rainy day. The Russians never pay for anything—their deals are either so-called "compensatory trade" (i.e., barter), or financed by the seller. (The proposed 3,000-mile, $12-billion

William J. Quirk is a lawyer practicing in New York City who writes often for TNR on financial matters.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Siberian-European gas pipeline, which will be built with German money and Western technology, is just one example.) In essence, the Western funds supplied under detente have directly supported the Russian military machine, since, as the bankers are fond of telling us, money is fungible.

The bankers were essential to detente because the Western public was not ready for such an Orwellian switch. Any member of Congress voting funds to help the Russians suppress freedom and threaten us with missiles would be out of office come the next election. But the bankers could justify it simply as good business. Citibank's senior vice president, Thomas Theobald, said, "Who knows which political system works? The only test we care about is: can they pay their bills?" You put that tough-mindedness together with the umbrella theory and you had a sure thing.

HENRY KISSINGER recently wrote that detente was intended as an instrument for "moderating Soviet conduct." How was it supposed to do that? "In a crisis, we thought, the fear of losing markets or access to raw materials, Western technical innovations or bank credits would produce Soviet caution." That is a strikingly thin theory on which to spin $80 billion. The public was highly skeptical about detente, but, since Congress never appropriated any money or passed any laws, and since there was no apparent cost, the opposition had nothing to grab onto.

The Communist loans rapidly multiplied: $32 billion in 1976, $40 billion in 1977, $53 billion in 1978, $64 billion in 1979, $73 billion in 1980, and more than $80 billion in 1981. This was inevitable because the Russians never intended to pay back anything, and the 15 percent interest was always folded into principal. The high interest rates demonstrate the absurdity of expecting Polish repayment. Fifteen percent (some of the government loans are at lower rates) of $27 billion is over $4 billion in interest alone from a country facing starvation.

Until August 1980, the system was working well for the parties involved: the bankers received their interest and the Russians received money, food, and the high technology necessary for its military machine. The IBM 360 and 370 computers are believed to be the backbone of the Warsaw Pact air defense system. Interest was kept current by adding a little extra to each new borrowing.

Clearly detente was built on some major fictions. Several of the most startling are: (1) the Russians are not our enemy; (2) the bankers were conducting business as usual in making loans to the Communists; and (3) there was some reasonable prospect for repayment of the loans. The bankers radiated confidence. Willard C. Butcher, David Rockefeller's successor at Chase Manhattan, said: "There's a big difference between a company being in trouble and a country. Countries don't go bankrupt."

The Polish workers tore the accepted fictions to shreds. Butcher had failed to consider what would happen if there were a national economic collapse. When the collapse occurred, the bankers, at the very best, could look forward to the long-term interruption of interest and principal payments. The Russians, at best, could only look forward to the Poles' passive resistance to the military regime and to a staggering financial drain—the cost to them for 1981 is estimated at $10 billion. General Jaruzelski claims to have improved job attendance figures, and says "We will willingly make available this information to our foreign creditors." So far, his foreign creditors have not been leaping at the opportunity. They never had any figures when they were making the loans, and those figures seem irrelevant now.

The military repression of December 13 did not make the bankers' loans worthless. They have been worthless since at least 1976. The coup didn't cause the Poles to stop paying interest. They stopped March 26, 1981. Nor could they pay the $2.4 billion of principal due in 1981 or the $11 billion due in 1982. The Solidarity revolution and Poland's economic collapse had been going on since August 1980. Yet we hear much more about the loans now, and about possible default; the loans suddenly are a major problem to the banks. In the past the loans had simply been rescheduled and re-rescheduled. Poland had applied to join the International Monetary Fund a few months before the military coup, and the IMF was being set up as an accommodating bailout for banks by putting replacement loans on the backs of Western taxpayers and letting the banks get out from under. What the bloodshed at the Wujek mine and elsewhere changed was the public relations considerations. The bankers, reports the *Financial Times*, "are not willing to be seen helping the new military regime while repression continues."

THE POLISH WORKERS have caused the bankers and the Russians a lot of trouble. They have also presented the West with an unprecedented opportunity to reveal the Russian bankruptcy and add confusion to our enemies. The workers deserve our support. President Reagan has ruled out nothing but military intervention. There are some positive steps the Administration should be taking right now: we should freeze any Russian assets, and embargo grain, high technology, and money. The government should call a default on the $3.2 billion it holds in Polish loans, and ask the U.S. bankers to call a default on theirs. It is increasingly unlikely that this will happen. The Administration recently decided to pay off the $400-million debt that Poland is obligated to pay to American banks by the end of this year, thus explicitly avoiding a formal declaration of default.

The banks have said emphatically that a default would not be "productive." Citibank's Walter Wriston says that "if someone were to call a default on that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WRITE AS THOUGH YOUR CAREER DEPENDS ON IT...

Your writing can be a treasured asset to your career...or a threatening liability. In fact, you may have already discovered that your image and advancement depends more on your communication skills than on your actual ability.

Have you ever thought what you could accomplish if you could write the kind of persuasive letters that open doors and generate new business? What would it mean to you if your memos could influence management, or build customer confidence? Wouldn't it be everything you ever worked for to produce reports or proposals that actually move people to action?

If you're an executive, professional, supervisor, secretary, salesperson or technician and you want to reap the rewards that come from writing with force, persuasion and motivation, your answer is **Power Writing.**

No classes or grammar lessons—just techniques, strategies and results

Power Writing is a totally different approach that achieves results. It eliminates the usual drills on grammar and theory. Instead, it tackles step-by-proven-step the requirements of real-life writing situations as they actually exist. The typical remark made by the thousands of people who have benefited from the Power Writing strategies is: "Where was this when I needed it during all those years of stodgy letters?" They were no longer held back by a lack of effective writing skills. They developed a new mastery of on-the-job writing.

What makes Power Writing so successful?

With this professionally developed and proven system, you do far more than just examine and explore the components of crisp and presuasive letters, memos, and reports. You'll achieve a powerful command of the writing techniques used by the people who get results from their writing—and you'll do it in spare minutes-a-day from the very first day—through vividly realistic practice as you advance from section to section.

You'll learn how to persuade, flatter, compel, control, inform, influence and motivate your readers by:

- creating immediate interest that draws them right into the heart of your message;
- involving them so completely they become your allies without even realizing it;
- obtaining positive reactions from them almost from the first word;
- developing a professional writer's command of mixing just the right elements at the right time;
- mastering every aspect of writing that can pay dividends for you and your career.

You'll learn the 'Advanced Applications' of Power Writing techniques for writing extensive business and scientific proposals and reports. This is the one program that will help you no matter what your career or profession. If you've ever said "I hate to write," Power Writing is for you. It won't necessarily make writing fun, but it will make it a lot easier and much more productive.

Power Writing is the one program available that can turn even the most hesitant and unsure writer into a fast, confident and productive communicator. What's more, it's proven that ability through actual results gained by 'people-on-the-move' in many Fortune 500 companies.

Examine Power Writing FREE for 15 days

When you receive Power Writing, take the full time allowed to look over the materials that make up this uniquely successful concept. Listen to your 'teacher-on-cassettes' who guides you, instructs, encourages and works through every step of the program with you.

We're confident that after listening to the tapes and glancing through the coordinated workbooks and reference guides, you'll quickly agree that Power Writing can easily make you a much faster, more resourceful and more powerful writer—and do it in just a matter of weeks.

On the other hand, if you don't agree for any reason that Power Writing is a plus for your career, simply return all materials and take advantage of our airtight money-back guarantee. You'll receive a full and immediate refund. No questions asked.

You've got nothing to lose by examining Power Writing. So complete and mail the coupon below now—and take advantage of this highly effective program and offer!

BECAUSE IT DOES!

POWER WRITING

learn INCORPORATED
Mount Laurel Plaza,
113 Gaither Drive,
Mount Laurel, N.J. 08054

Please send me the POWER WRITING Program at $99.95 plus $4 for handling and insured delivery.

Please check the method of payment below:

- ☐ Check or money order enclosed for items ordered. NJ residents add 5% sales tax.
- ☐ Please charge my credit card under regular payment terms:
- ☐ VISA
- ☐ Master Card Interbank No._____
- ☐ American Express

Card No. _____
Exp. Date._____

I understand that if after 15 days I am not delighted in every way, I may return the materials and obtain a full refund with no questions asked.

Name_____
Address_____
City _____ State_____ Zip____
X Signature _____

If you don't already own a cassette player, you may order a Deluxe Cassette Recorder for only $49.95 (postage and handling included).

☐ (check here to order) NRP-C

Outside USA—$109.95 plus $4 surface mail—airmail extra

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Robert R. Max and Sally P. Cerny are co-authors. Mr. Max is one of the leading communications consultants in the world. His clients include American Express, Johnson & Johnson, New York Life Insurance Company, American Stock Exchange, AT&T, Eastman Kodak, Union Carbide, Hoffman-LaRoche Pharmaceuticals, Equitable Life Assurance Society and many others.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

debt, you would illustrate very clearly to the Poles they have only one friend . . . Russia." Exactly who Wriston means by the Poles is not clear—Lech Walesa has not been heard from since December 13. There is a bitter irony in hearing Wriston, who has wasted his corporate assets by making an unenforceable loan, argue that a default should not be called because it would not be productive—meaning, of course, that the loan is not enforceable. He is nonetheless entirely correct in saying that none of the traditional legal remedies available in default could be used against Poland. (How do you sue Poland and where do you go to collect if you win?)

From the banks' point of view, the only useful remedy, if a sovereign nation is involved, is a "set off" which permits the bank, without court action, to take possession of any deposits the debtor has with the banks. The great Iranian banking freeze was a novel use of set-off by the banks. (See "Hostages of the Banks," TNR, February 7, 1981.) In that case the bankers convinced the Carter Administration to freeze the Iranians' assets in order to avoid the situation they are now in with Poland. Iran had very large deposits with the U.S. banks and also very large loans from the banks. The deposits, because of the possibility of set off, secured the loans. Bani-Sadr began withdrawing the deposits, which would defeat set off when he subsequently defaulted the loans. Had he succeeded, Iran would have become, like Poland, a country with large loans and no deposits. Within hours of the first withdrawal, the freeze cut Iran off and also forced a default, since the Iranians could not make loan payments with frozen funds. The banks called a default, seized the assets, and used them profitably until the whole affair was finally settled on terms favorable to them. There is certainly no objection to outmaneuvering Bani-Sadr, but the ease and speed with which the banks manipulated the U.S. government were disquieting.

Bankers, and now the Reagan Administration, argue that a declaration of default on Poland's loans would achieve no practical result, since there are no legal remedies to pursue. This is transparently faulty reasoning. The "essential transfusions" (Kissinger's phrase) would be shut off. The Siberian pipeline, which the Russians expect to provide 50 percent of their future hard currency reserves, would be dead. Many believe that the pipeline is of such significance to the Russians that they kept hands off Poland until the contracts were signed in Bonn early in December.

The banks' approach is to smooth over the crisis, to

Let Poland Be Hollywood

Perhaps the kindest thing to be said about "Let Poland Be Poland," the 90-minute television program produced by the U.S. International Communications Agency, is that it wasn't as offensive as it could have been. Conceived as a tribute to Solidarity, it consisted largely of declarations by foreign statesmen, a few American politicans, and a sprinkling of labor leaders. None of them bothered to explain how high-minded rhetoric alone would force Jaruzelski and his allies in Warsaw and Moscow to back down. Nor is it clear why the Polish people, languishing under martial law, need the support of the head of Turkey's military dictatorship, and no word of encouragement from any third world leader.

It can be argued that expressions of moral outrage—even when recited with deadly monotony—carry some weight. But in virtually every other respect, "Let Poland Be Poland" was pure Hollywood bunkum. With the exception of Czeslaw Milosz, Mstislav Rostropovich, and James Michener, there were no representatives of the arts and letters, or of the world of scholarship. Instead, we were treated to platitudes and cameo performances by Hollywood stars—Frank Sinatra singing (in English and excruciating Polish) a sentimental number called "Ever Homeward," and appearances by Bob Hope, Charlton Heston, Kirk Douglas, et al. Why? To what purpose? Nor was there any attempt to explain the nature of Poland's extraordinary "renewal," or why it was so brutally suppressed. Surely the producers could have used existing footage (say, of an interview with Lech Walesa), talked to some distinguished Poles now in exile, and offered some intelligent commentary, rather than having Max von Sydow declaim that "in Poland today beauty is against the law," or James Michener suggest that everything was going smoothly in Poland until December 13, 1981.

I could speculate about why "Let Poland Be Poland" was so monumentally shallow, but an anecdote from my own experience may be relevant. In the early 1950s, after joining the USICA (then called the U.S. Information Agency), I was asked to work on a book to be called *What Is Communism?* It was the brainchild of an agency official, formerly the publicity director for Corning Glass, and author of a slim volume called *What Is Glass?* With disarming candor, he told me that he knew nothing about glass when he wrote the book, and knew nothing about Communism now, but that the first book was a hit, and so, he was sure, would be *What Is Communism?* The producer of "Let Poland Be Poland" similarly lays no claim to any knowledge about the subject. Formerly in charge of Hollywood's Academy Awards shows, he was asked—according to the *New York Times*—to direct the program on Poland simply as a person "trained to use the tools of television, that's all."

Plus ça change. . . .

Abraham Brumberg

Abraham Brumberg, for many years the editor of the USICA bimonthly journal *Problems of Communism*, has written frequently for TNR on Soviet and East European affairs.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

get some concessions on martial law, to go back to rescheduling, and to turn the Polish revolution into a nonevent. In short, the banks seek a return to the IMF scenario that was on track before December 13. (Default would entail suspending Poland's application to join the IMF.) It would be very bad if they are able to bend foreign policy in this direction, in essence providing an indirect bailout. A frank and open bailout, one that would not interfere with foreign policy, would be better for the West.

The German banks have already discussed with Bonn the impending necessity for the government to make clear its support of the banking system. They have loaned $6 billion, more than half of which is guaranteed by the government, leaving an exposure of $2.5 billion. The U.S. banks' exposure is $1.3 billion; they also hold $.8 billion of government-guaranteed debt for a total of $2.1 billion. The banks have been trading on narrow margins; a major default, in a country like Poland (which probably could not be isolated from the rest of the Communist loans), will either bust the banks or see the government become progressively more involved in the banking business—in the words of one European reporter, "pouring inflationary balm over [the banking business'] international excesses."

The bankers are now conducting the West's foreign policy in Poland. In early December the banks and Poland agreed to reschedule $2.4 billion, which was due in the last nine months of 1981, provided the Poles would pay $450 million of interest arrears by December 31. The banks imposed very tough terms, assuming, of course, that either side took them seriously. The new term was for seven years at 1¾ percent above LIBOR (the rate banks pay each other for funds in London) plus a 1 percent rescheduling fee. The formal signing was to take place in Frankfurt on December 31. On December 14, the day after the coup, the Dresdner Bank, the agent for the 501 banks involved in the rescheduling agreement, urged the banks to proceed as planned. The banks agreed, hoping to avoid making expensive provision for the overdue debts. Also, it was time for the umbrella theory to take effect.

On December 17 the bankers were "shocked" when Poland asked the banks for an additional $350 million to pay the bankers the interest they owed. What kind of an umbrella was that? After a few days of deliberation, the bankers rejected the new loan and insisted that the Russians come up with the money. The banks decided to play what the European press calls "chicken" with the Russians. Either the Russians come up with the money, and their economy folds, or the bankers reschedule without being paid, and they fold. The money is now promised by mid-February.

The Russians, desperate to keep their aid program going, are selling a lot of oil, gold, and diamonds to raise the money. The sales have already depressed world market prices. Other efforts to scrape up some cash include: a 20-percent cut in timber prices; an attempt to delay (up to six months) payments on Japanese orders (steel, textiles, and chemicals); and quiet borrowing on the Euro-currency market. The Czar's art collection goes next. Russia's deteriorating position, and the Western banks' efforts to rescue it, is also clear from the Soviets' increasing reliance on short-term debt. In June 1980, the banks were well secured: they held $8.6 billion of Russian deposits to cover Russia's short-term debt of $5.6 billion. But the next year the banks permitted the Russians to withdraw $5 billion and loaned them, short-term, another $1.2 billion.

THE ADMINISTRATION's sudden decision to pay $400 million worth of Poland's debt to the U.S. directly contradicts its policy of imposing economic pressure as long as the repression continues. The Polish loans were government guaranteed through the Department of Agriculture to finance grain exports. Normally a bank could not go to a guarantor for payment until it established that the borrower was in default. But late one night Agriculture adopted an emergency regulation which permitted the government to make payments on its guarantee without requiring the banks to declare a Polish default. Presidential counselor Ed Meese explained the Administration's rationale for the decision on "All Things Considered": "If we should require these banks to exercise the default clause in the contracts, this would plunge a number of banks, particularly in Europe, into bankruptcy. . . . [T]his country felt we should honor our obligation under our loan guarantee, rather than plunge all of Europe into what could be economic chaos." The banks apparently have frightened the Administration into believing this alarmist vision.

On February 2 Alexander Haig told the Foreign Relations Committee that the Administration's position was the "hard position, the more rigid position. The facts are that the action he took will require the Soviet Union to make the money good. Had we called a default, they would have been relieved of that burden. . . ." Americans are supposed to believe not only that bill-collecting for bankers is now a national policy but also that an Administration afraid to call a note in default is going to make the Russians answer to it.

The bankers' role in detente has badly blurred the distinction between public and private functions. The bankers' interests are separate from, and not to be confused with, the country's. Detente has given us unaccountable power and diffuse responsibility. The West has a unique opportunity to make clear the advantage created by Russia's bankruptcy and the Polish revolt. The bankers should withdraw to their traditional functions, which will make life more comfortable for them. The constitutional government should take hold of foreign policy again and concentrate on keeping the Western alliance together as it moves to aid freedom.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The American House of Saud: I.
An Investigative Report.

THE PETRODOLLAR CONNECTION

BY STEVEN EMERSON

THE BEST KEPT SECRET of the sale of Awacs reconnaissance planes to Saudi Arabia is that it was saved from defeat in the U.S. Senate by a massive and unprecedented corporate lobbying campaign. That lobbying campaign was carried out by American business from the top of the Fortune 500 to the ricegrowers in Arkansas, and largely orchestrated by Saudi Arabia and its American agents.

A three-month investigation has determined that the Saudi lobbying campaign resulted in one of the most successful manipulations of American business and American foreign policy ever attempted by a foreign power. Saudi Arabia demanded and received the aggressive support of the most powerful corporations in America. Scores of other business interests joined the campaign in order to protect existing petrodollar contracts or to obtain new ones. Still thousands of others were indirectly induced to join by pressure from their own domestic suppliers, purchasers, or business partners. And many others with no commercial stake in the sale, or even in Saudi Arabia, jumped into the lobbying fray because they were prevailed upon to believe that not upsetting the Saudis was vital to the U.S. economy. In the end, the effort to obtain Senate approval of the sale produced the most extensive involvement by the American business community in any major foreign policy decision since World War II. Not only energy and munitions companies, but also farmers, toy manufacturers, airlines, trade associations, health care management firms, rice growers, banks, bus companies, construction firms, and other commercial interests from nearly every state pressed hard for the sale. In addition, evidence has been uncovered that points to possible widespread violations of the Foreign Agents Registration Act by major American corporations and their officers.

The Awacs strategy was devised in an elegant suite in Washington's Fairfax Hotel, where, beginning last September, a group of five men met every morning. The group consisted of three registered agents for Saudi Arabia—Frederick Dutton, Stephen N. Connor, and J. Crawford Cook—and two Saudis—Prince Bandar bin Sultan, son of the Saudi Defense Minister, and Abdullah Dabbagh, a former commercial attaché. A centerpiece of the campaign was to convince the American business community to lobby for the sale.

At the Fairfax meetings, Senators were targeted who were considered politically vulnerable and critical to the final vote. Corporations were broken down state by state and matched up with individual Senators. The White House and Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker provided the latest Senate head counts. Lists of American firms doing business in Saudi Arabia were collected, and political information on the progress of the lobbying efforts in Congress and in the business community was exchanged with other centers of corporate organizing: the Business Roundtable, United Technologies Corporation, and the Boeing Company.

The Saudis and their American agents tried to create an impression that Prince Bandar and other Saudi officials were unobtrusive presences, and were there only to answer questions if asked. The *Wall Street Journal* quoted Bandar as saying, "I am here for any Senator who wants to know our side of the story." In fact, Bandar played a much more active role. He took the initiative in making the rounds on Capitol Hill, setting up meetings, and arranging briefings with various Senators. He was even provided with an office off the Senate floor.

Crawford Cook and Stephen Connor, in the words of one informed source, "worked the hell out of the private sector. They were the hot and heavy guys." Hundreds of chief executive officers and corporate presidents and vice presidents were contacted and strongly urged to write or call their Senators. In the six weeks preceding the Senate vote, scores of Washington representatives of major American corporations were invited to attend "receptions" at the Saudi Embassy and other Saudi-designated locations, where the importance of the sale to Saudi Arabia was communicated. Prince Bandar and other Saudi officials made daily phone calls to chief executive officers, asking them to help by contacting Senators. Many American corporations were led to believe that much of America's trade with the Saudis—including their own—would disappear if the sale did not go through. Some were left with the unambiguous impression that their lobbying efforts would be monitored. And, in other

Steven Emerson, a former member of the staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is a Washington foreign policy analyst and a freelance writer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cases, the promise of contracts was dangled in front of corporations, one corporate official said, "like raw meat before a hungry dog."

But by October the Awacs still seemed unlikely to pass in Congress, despite the intense lobbying by the Saudis and the Administration. So officials of Saudi Arabia made a formal decision to increase the pressure beyond the level of strong requests and implicit threats. Sources close to the Saudis have revealed that in an unprecedented move, Saudi Arabia held up final contract negotiations with American firms during the time when the sale was before Congress. Contracts awaiting final signatures were frozen and discussions on new contracts postponed. Several companies were warned that if the sale did not go through, or if they did not lobby hard enough, renewals of their contracts would be in jeopardy. An examination of American, Middle Eastern, and Saudi trade publications which cover business developments in the region and monitor major contracts awarded by Saudi Arabia confirms that—with one exception—no American contracts in Saudi Arabia were awarded or renewed during the period from October 5 to October 28, 1981.

PAINTING BY ROBERT SOULÉ FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC

The exception was the Whittaker Corporation. Last August Whittaker's president, Joseph Alibrandi, published an article headlined "If I Were A Saudi Arabian" in *Newsweek*'s "My Turn" column. Alibrandi extolled the altruistic and pro-Western policies of Saudi Arabia ("the primary peacemaker and defender of American interests in the Middle East") and attacked the West's ungrateful response. *Newsweek* identified Alibrandi as a "corporation president [who] has done business in Saudi Arabia for nearly twenty years." During half that time, Alibrandi was a Raytheon executive, and he had helped install ground-to-air Hawk missiles for the Saudis. When he took over at Whittaker in 1970, it was a diversified manufacturing company with no experience in hospital management. But Alibrandi's contacts in the Saudi Ministry of Defense and Aviation helped his new company to enter the health care field in a significant way. In 1974 the Whittaker Corporation was awarded a $100-million contract to manage and operate three Saudi hospitals, and the contract eventually grew to $500 million. After the *Newsweek* article appeared, Alibrandi mailed a copy to every member of the Senate. On October 26, 1981, two days before the scheduled vote on the Awacs sale, Whittaker announced that Saudi Arabia had awarded it a contract to expand the corporation's health care program to include five hospitals. The new fee was $834 million, a 67 percent increase and a sum equal to more than half the company's total revenue for 1981. (In late January, Whittaker announced a takeover attempt of the Brunswick Corporation. It offered $320 million in cash. Brunswick has resisted, charging that "Whittaker is subject to the influence of Saudi interests. Sheik al Fassi of Saudi Arabia has been quoted [in the *Washington Post*] as saying, 'This is one of the biggest companies in the world and I control it. Joe Alibrandi is my employee.' ")

Whittaker was not the only corporation to receive a lucrative contract after actively promoting the sale. In mid-October, the Greyhound Corporation, which is based in Arizona, contacted the state's two Senators to tell them that the company regarded the Awacs sale as important. Greyhound became involved, according to its vice president for public relations and advertising, Dorothy Lorant, because "the Awacs controversy had the potential to become disruptive for all, economically and politically." Lorant added that "it is not our style to knuckle under to any type of pressure," and that "it was a matter of conscience. The sale of Awacs would serve the country, the U.S. public, and this corporation as well." Eight days after the sale of Awacs was approved by the Senate, Greyhound Food Management, a wholly owned subsidiary of the Greyhound Corporation, was awarded a $90-million contract extension by the Saudi Ministry of Defense and Aviation. Before the Senate vote, Greyhound reportedly had to be reminded of its pending contract renewal.

On July 18, 1981, an official of National Medical Enterprises, a health care management corporation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

based in California, wrote to all members of the California delegation and to some other out-of-state members. The letters strongly supported the sale of Awacs and enhanced F-15 equipment to Saudi Arabia, and said, "My perception is that the sale is in the best interests of the United States." In September Saudi Arabia signed an original contract with National Medical Enterprises for the management of a hospital in Riyadh. The contract was worth $84 million.

As the lobbying effort gathered steam, there was greater coordination among the corporate participants. Representatives of forty companies, primarily in defense, aerospace, and petroleum-related areas, attended meetings held at the downtown Washington offices of the Business Roundtable, the country's most powerful business lobby. The meetings were organized by Richard M. Hunt, director of government relations for NL Industries, a manufacturer of petroleum equipment and supplies. Hunt denies that NL Industries was motivated by any economic gain, saying, "We appreciated the role Saudi Arabia played in maintaining moderate oil prices and also the need to maintain Middle East stability."

Hunt refuses to discuss details of the meetings, but according to one corporate representative, the sessions became intense and frank. The White House sent a staff person from its business liaison office, who, like the organizers of the meetings at the Fairfax Hotel, determined which Senators were considered vulnerable to political pressure. The question of which Senators were Jewish was discussed. And in one of the final sessions, a representative of a major corporation rose and told his Business Roundtable colleagues, "The children of Israel will stub their toes on this one." Hunt, however, denies that anti-Semitic comments were made. "There was not one comment made about Jews," he said. "I have a lot of respect for the little people."

TWO CORPORATE GIANTS that became heavily involved in the lobbying campaign were Boeing, the main contractor for the Awacs planes, and United Technologies, which estimated that it had some $100 million at stake. According to their spokesmen, Boeing president E. H. Boullion and United Technologies president Harry Gray together sent out more than 6,500 telegrams to subsidiaries, vendors, subcontractors, suppliers, and distributors throughout the country. Boullion's telegram asserted that unless the deal went through, the "Awacs production line would be ended," a view not shared by officials of the Defense Department. Gray, in addition to mailing thousands of his own telegrams "requesting" support for the sale, pressured the chiefs of his subsidiaries (including Pratt & Whitney, Carrier Air Conditioning, Otis Elevator, and Ideal Electric) to send out the same telegram to hundreds of their vendors and distributors. The result was one of the most successful chain letter operations in history. One vendor said that the head of a United Technologies subsidiary told him confidentially that in the end over 10,000—and possibly as many as 20,000—telegrams were sent to businesses across the country. "Anybody who had even done business with UT was asked to support the sale," he added. Ultimately letters filtered down to valve companies, small businesses with fewer than twenty employees, and even some mom-and-pop industrial distributor operations.

IN HIS TELEGRAM, Gray couched his support for the Awacs in lofty foreign policy terms: "The Saudis are in the forefront of resistance to the spread of Soviet influence." But his vice president, Clark MacGregor (formerly chairman of Richard Nixon's reelection committee), appealed to partisan political sentiment. He sent out last-minute warnings to the Republican leadership and Republican opponents of the Awacs sale that the Republicans would lose their majority in the Senate in the 1982 elections if the sale was defeated.

Gray's telegram ended on an ominous note: "Please wire your two U.S. Senators today asking them to sustain the President's position. Would you also send me a copy of your communication to the Senators?" Corporate officials, many dependent on United Technologies' goodwill, responded overwhelmingly. I reviewed more than 2,000 letters sent in by corporate supporters of the Awacs. More than 1,400 of these telegrams and letters paraphrased or quoted, in varying degrees, the points made by the United Technologies and Boeing telegrams. Some firms copied the telegrams verbatim; others tried to enhance their authenticity by claiming in an introductory paragraph that the impetus for writing came out of "internal discussions" with all the employees. One corporation had every one of its twenty officers send in the same telegrams. And other officials actually included at the bottom: "cc: Harry Gray, United Technologies Corporation." To many Senators, who receive weekly mail counts, the number of corporate supporters of the Awacs seemed impressive. But two companies, Boeing and United Technologies, may have been responsible for generating approximately 70 percent of the "grass roots" corporate mail.

The pressure exerted on the recipients of the United Technologies telegrams was extraordinary. One vendor with annual sales of under $15 million said that he was subjected to what he felt was "raw economic blackmail." He continued, "At our level, all small vendors are engaged in intense economic competition with each other. Very few have a big edge over the other in price—the final selection is sometimes arbitrary. So when Harry Gray asks vendors to lobby on Awacs, what choice do we have? How do we know that our refusal to support the Awacs won't be used against us later?"

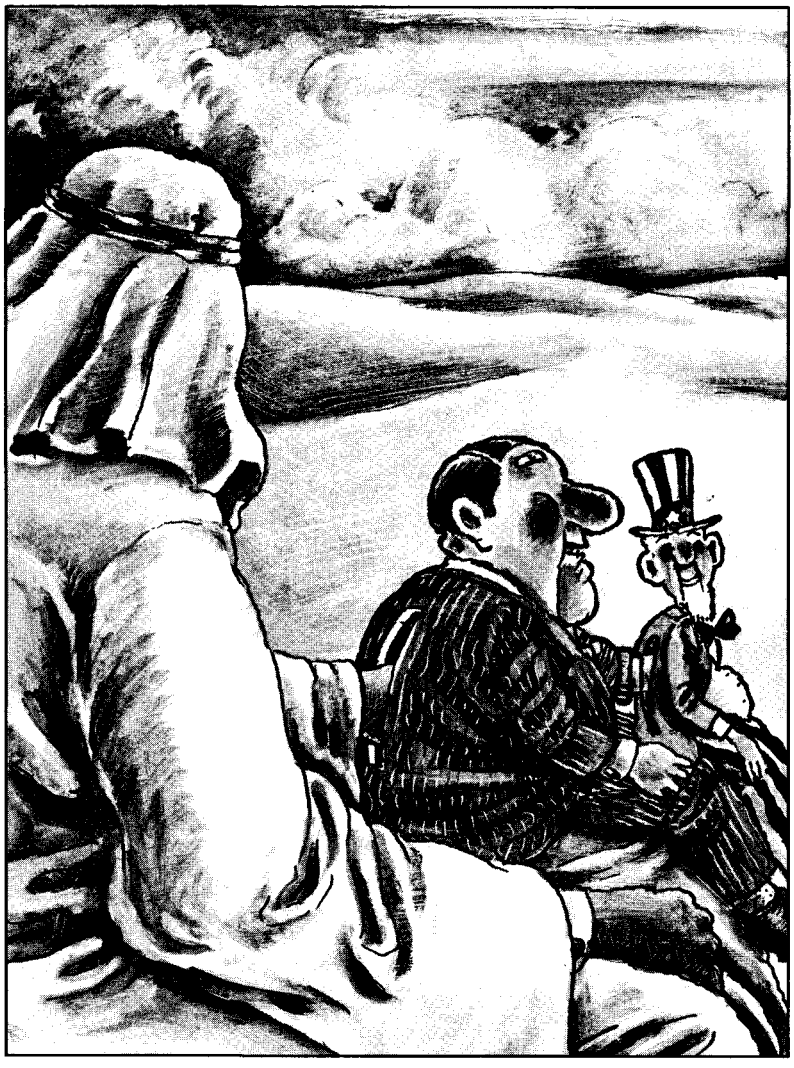
The lobbying campaign also drew on the resources

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of construction companies with large Saudi interests. For example, two prominent firms in this area were Brown & Root, which provided pro-Awacs position papers to at least a dozen Sun Belt Senators, and Bechtel, Inc., whose actual and potential Saudi contracts are in the $40-billion range. (Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, who was urging President Reagan to endorse the Awacs sale from the earliest weeks of the Administration, is a former vice president of Bechtel.) Like United Technologies, Bechtel has many subcontractors that are dependent on its business.

But even firms without substantial business interests in Saudi Arabia became active supporters of and lobbyists for the Awacs sale. The list of the many hundreds of companies that played a part in the campaign includes (to pick at random) the John Deere farm equipment manufacturing firm, Republic Steel, Alcoa (aluminium), Westvaco Corporation (a pulp and paper manufacturer), Barnes and Tucker (coal mining), Centex Corporation (a multi-industry holding company), PVI Industries, Inc. (a small business manufacturer of commerical water heaters), Fisher Price Toys Inc., Cubic Corporation (manufacturer of automatic fare card machines), SmithKline Corporation (drugs), and even some Pepsi-Cola bottling companies.

One of the oddest recruits to the Awacs cause was the Association of the Wall and Ceiling Industries-International, a nonprofit association representing American contractors from carpenters to plasterers. This group's interest in radar planes for Saudi Arabia would appear to be somewhat tangential. Nevertheless, its executive vice president, Joe Baker, attended meetings at the Business Roundtable to help organize the business community. Baker denies that he ever participated in these meetings, and said that he contacted only one Senator. Yet a White House staff member and another participant of the Business Roundtable each singled out Baker for his active support of the Awacs. President Reagan even wrote him a letter thanking him for his help. Baker also said that as far as he knew none of the contractors in his association had any Saudi Arabian connection. This may not be true much longer. A few weeks after the Awacs vote in the Senate, Baker was in the Middle East attempting to generate business for his members.



PAINTING BY ROBERT SOULÉ FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC

Nor was the petrodollar connection limited to oil, manufacturing, and construction industries. Agricultural groups —including the rice lobby and some farm co-ops—also became aggressive supporters of the Awacs sale. Riceland Foods, a major Arkansas rice producer and distributor, lobbied the Arkansas Congressional delegation. Officials of American Rice Inc. and other rice growers based in Texas reportedly contacted members of the Texas delegation. The Rice Millers' Association, the rice industry's trade association, held a board of directors meeting on September 18, 1981, and voted to support the Awacs deal. It then contacted Senators from Florida, Mississippi, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas. Why? A spokesman for Riceland Foods said it became involved because it was concerned with "foreign policy, Middle East peace, and trade." A spokesman for the Rice Miller's Association initially cited the need for "stability in the Middle East," but then added that sale of Awacs was "just a matter of economic sense." He said that American rice exports to Saudi Arabia from August 1980 to July 1981 totaled $150 million, and represented a 50 percent increase over the previous year. The sale of rice to Saudi Arabia was "strictly a cash market," and "the Saudis pay premium prices."

Cenex, a huge Minnesota-based farm cooperative, is part of a consortium with four oil refiners known as

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Interdependent Crude and Refining. Cenex lent support to a lobbying effort that included retaining a Washington law firm to promote the Awacs sale on Capitol Hill. And ICR delivered a slick brochure, prepared by its managing director, John Venners, to all Senators. According to the ICR brochure, the consortium was moved to act because

> . . . the Saudis are asking for our help—a display of our faith and support, a renewal of trust, and a commitment to friendship. . . . Even though we do not purchase oil from Saudi Arabia, we are concerned. We're concerned because we are well aware of the strategic importance of Saudi oil . . . concerned because of the unsettled nature of the region and the threat to attack. . . . We cannot afford to lose their [Saudi] friendship and continued cooperation.

There are other reasons, too. ICR was formed twenty-one months ago exclusively to obtain a direct crude oil supply contract with Saudi Arabia. But by September 1981, ICR had not met with any success. A source familiar with ICR said that the consortium decided to go all out for the Awacs because "it would provide a great entrée with the Saudis if they could prove they were in the forefront on the lobbying efforts. Up until then, ICR couldn't even get the Saudis to look at them [ICR]."

Cenex is a member of the National Farmers Union, a progressive general farm organization, many of whose board members were in fact opposed to the Awacs sale. But Cenex approved ICR's decision to lobby in support of the sale. According to the *Political Finance/Lobbying Reporter*, a spokesman for Cenex also said, "We're not opposed to the lobbying . . . our members need the crude."

A high-ranking official of one of the major American farm organizations says, "all of the major farm co-ops were pressured" to lobby for the Awacs sale. Many have substantial investments in petroleum products, refineries, gasoline stations, and fertilizer production. But even farmer organizations became involved. The National Farmers Organization is a collective bargaining organization designed to secure the highest prices for farmers and producers. NFO's Washington director, Charles Fraser, sent out numerous letters on NFO stationery to Senators expressing support of the Awacs sale. Although the board of NFO never took a position, Fraser reportedly had been told to go ahead from key individuals in NFO.

FRASER WAS not the only one to move without the formal blessing of the organization for which he worked. Richard Lesher, president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, sent out letters to all Senators the day before the vote, in which he reported on his October trip to the Middle East. Lesher noted that the sale of Awacs was "not a one-nation, isolated issue." He wrote that "recommendations for approval" of the Awacs sale came from American businessmen and foreign officials in all the countries he visited. Though the U.S. Chamber never formally took a position, it did host a reception in October for the Saudi Minister of Commerce, Soliman Sulaim, where he asked business to support the Awacs sale. In addition, the Chamber included an article in its 860,000-circulation newsletter sent out in September that warned of the adverse consequences for all U.S. trade if the sale were to be defeated.

Even the Florist Insurance Companies sent letters in support of the Awacs sale to various Senators and Representatives. "The Awacs sales will provide a general spur to the economy and it will also put some more people to work in this country," a spokesman explained. "And the more people working in this country and the more they have in their pockets, the more they will spend on flowers." The spokesman said that letters of opinion are routinely sent out by the Florist Insurance Companies to Congressmen on various issues, but acknowledged that this was its first active venture in foreign policy.

IN LATE OCTOBER, with the Senate vote still hanging in the balance, a traveling contingent of the American corporate elite decided to provide an added push for the Awacs sale. A group of top corporate executives was touring Eastern Europe and the Persian Gulf on a "fact-finding mission" sponsored by Time Inc. On the morning of October 28—the day of the Awacs vote—a confidential telex was sent from Riyadh to a select group of wavering Senators. The telex, signed by 23 of the 24 visiting executives, pleaded for approval of the sale and claimed that its defeat could "substantially impair U.S. ability to protect its legitimate interests in the Middle East." Many corporations whose officials signed the telex have done business in Saudi Arabia, some even have offices located there, and nearly all are looking to expand their markets in that country. When asked about the telex, one corporate spokesman suggested that it was Time Inc.'s idea. In fact, it has been learned that Theodore Brophy, chief executive officer of General Telephone and Electronics, came up with the idea on the night of October 27, and presented a draft of the telex to his colleagues the next morning. Significantly, until 1980 GTE was subjected to the Arab boycott. Some political observers believe that Brophy may have been trying to demonstrate to the Saudis the correctness of the Arab decision to drop GTE from the boycott list. One of the participants wondered about the possible embarrassment that could ensue if the telex was disclosed publicly, especially since it had emanated from Riyadh. But this objection was immediately dismissed, and, with the exception of one noncorporate leader—Vernon Jordan—the telex was signed by all the junketeers.

Though the signers wrote that their appeal was "personal," and that they were writing "individually,"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

each of them (with the exception of Matina Horner, who signed the appeal but did not identify herself as president of Radcliffe College and a member of the board of Time Inc.) provided his title and the name of his corporation. (See sidebar below.)

The sale was approved by a 52–48 vote, although at least four other Senators had promised to vote for the sale if their votes were needed. The corporate lobby was decisive in achieving that margin, reversing the overwhelming opposition to the sale that had existed only a week before the vote.

Roger Jepsen, Republican of Iowa, had been a leader in the anti-Awacs coalition, but he was turned around at the last moment with the help of farm manufacturing companies, farm co-ops, and defense contractors. David Boren, Democrat of Oklahoma, who had been leaning against the sale but voted for it in the end, was targeted by oil interests. Edward Zorinsky and James Exon, both Nebraska Democrats, were exposed to fierce pressure from major corporate interests in their states. Both voted for the sale. In explaining what had influenced his vote, Zorinsky reportedly said he had discovered that the lamp posts of the city of Riyadh were made in Nebraska. According to the *Omaha World Herald*, a "top Saudi official" congratulated the head of Valmont Industries, which organized the Nebraska lobbying effort, over the telephone on the morning after the vote.

Howell Heflin, Democrat of Alabama, was confronted by a delegation of twenty-seven Alabama businessmen, some with contracts in Saudi Arabia. According to one source, the message was clear: "either you support the Awacs or you are our ex-Senator from Alabama." In the end, however, Heflin voted against the Awacs sale. Another Senator, a Midwesterner, said he was called by every chief executive officer in his state. And executives of FMC Corporation initiated appointments with various Senators and their staffs to lobby personally. At one meeting, said a Congressional source, the FMC representative emphatically told a

THE RIYADH 23

The names and titles of corporate officials who signed the telex from Riyadh to Senators on the morning of the Awacs vote:

Robert Anderson
Chairman, Chief Executive Officer
Rockwell International Corporation

John R. Beckett
Chairman of the Board
Transamerica Corporation

Theodore F. Brophy
Chairman, Chief Executive Officer
General Telephone & Electronics Corporation

Philip Caldwell
Chairman, Chief Executive Officer
Ford Motor Company

Albert V. Casey
Chairman, Chief Executive Officer
American Airlines, Inc.

Richard P. Cooley
Chairman, Chief Executive Officer
Wells Fargo Bank, N.A.

Donald W. Davis
Chairman, Chief Executive Officer
The Stanley Works

Edwin D. Dodd
Chairman, Chief Executive Officer
Owens-Illinois, Inc.

Myron DuBain
Chairman, President, Chief Executive Officer
Fireman's Fund Insurance Companies

Henry J. Heinz II
Chairman of the Board
H. J. Heinz Company

Matina S. Horner

T. Lawrence Jones
President, Chief Executive Officer
American Insurance Association

Robert E. Kirby
Chairman, Chief Executive Officer
Westinghouse Electric Corporation

William E. LaMothe
Chairman, Chief Executive Officer
Kellogg Company

William S. Litwin
President
KeroSun, Inc.

Stewart G. Long
Vice President-Sales & Services
Trans World Airlines, Inc.

Henry Luce III
President
The Henry Luce Foundation, Inc.

Robert H. Malott
Chairman, Chief Executive Officer
FMC Corporation

John J. Nevin
Chairman, President, Chief Executive Officer
The Firestone Tire & Rubber Company

Paul C. Sheeline
Chairman, Chief Executive Officer
Intercontinental Hotels Corporation

John G. Smale
President, Chief Executive Officer
The Procter & Gamble Company

Thomas J. Watson Jr.
Chairman Emeritus
International Business Machines Corporation

L. Stanton Williams
Chairman, Chief Executive Officer
PPG Industries, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Senator that FMC—a diversified heavy manufacturing and chemical company—considered the sale of Awacs to be its "number one foreign policy issue." The FMC representative warned the Senator, who remained opposed to the sale until the day of the vote, "We will remember this vote five years from now, when you are up for reelection."

ACCORDING TO government officials, the systematic political activity and lobbying in support of the Awacs sale strongly suggests that the Foreign Agents Registration Act has been violated. The act requires that a person register with the Department of Justice as a foreign agent if he acts at the request or under the direction or control of a foreign principal, or indirectly through an agent or a foreign principal, and does one of the following: (1) engages in political activities for, or in the interest of, a foreign principal; (2) acts as a public relations counsel, or publicity agent, or political consultant for a foreign principal; (3) engages in the transaction of money on behalf of a foreign principal; or (4) represents the interests of a foreign principal before any official of the U.S. government.

Violations of the foreign agents act may well have been committed by persons in the following four categories: (1) corporate officials who lobbied or contacted their Senators or Representatives at the request of Prince Bandar and other Saudi officials; (2) company officers who lobbied and contacted members of Congress under the threat or inducement, implicit or explicit, of losing or gaining Saudi contracts; (3) company officials who lobbied or contacted members of Congress at the request of Saudi registered agents; and (4) companies that passed along Saudi propaganda or surreptitiously promoted the interests of Saudi Arabia as their own before U.S. government officials.

It will be up to the Justice Department to determine whether corporate officials acted under the "direction or control" of the Saudis. And it would be misleading to suggest that all corporate lobbying originated from Saudi pressure. Some stemmed from economic self-interest abetted by Administration pressure and Republican loyalty. But much of the lobbying was engineered, directly and indirectly, by Saudi Arabia.

COMING:

Martin Peretz on
Chintzy Reagan's Charities.

THE MOBIL OIL Corporation deserves special mention, for its role as a prime corporate propagandist for the Saudi cause. In addition, its activities may have constituted a violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Beginning in October, Mobil spent more than half a million dollars on a media blitz with a series of full-page advertisements in at least twenty-six U.S. newspapers and magazines. There was no reference to Awacs or even to arms sales. Mobil focused exclusively on the "profound and rapidly growing economic partnership between the U.S. and Saudi Arabia." Mobil explained that Saudi business extends to forty-two states, that "hundreds of thousands" of jobs have been created by Saudi contracts, and that $35 billion will accrue to our balance of trade as a result of Saudi friendship. "Saudi Arabia is far more than oil—it means trade for America, jobs for Americans and strength for the dollar." In another full-page advertisement, under the headline "$35 Billion in Business for U.S. Firms," Mobil simply listed the names of two hundred U.S. corporations involved in Saudi Arabia.

In addition to avoiding any mention of the Awacs, the advertisements also represented a sharp departure from Mobil's previously published political "commentaries" on the Arab-Israeli conflict. As recently as late August, Mobil printed a column in its "Observer" style, praising selected statements by Yasser Arafat and heaping praise on the Saudis for their "peace plan." In the last line, Mobil called for "evenhanded treatment in the sale of military equipment to our friends in the Middle East, especially Saudi Arabia—the nation whose stability is so critical to the economic well-being of the free nations of the world."

The August 1981 advertisement was the third such commentary on the Middle East Mobil had published since June 1973, when it first began advertising in the *New York Times*. It was later discovered that Mobil's 1973 advertisement and numerous other oil company lobbying actions had been ordered by the Saudis. Documents subpoenaed from Aramco (the oil consortium consisting of Mobil, Exxon, Texaco, and Standard Oil of California) in 1974 and 1975 by the Senate Subcommittee on Multinationals, chaired by Frank Church, revealed that the Saudis had demanded and received the cooperation of the American oil companies in a surreptitious scheme to change American public opinion on the Arab-Israeli conflict. In one document dated May 1973, for example, King Faisal warned Aramco that it would lose its concession unless it informed both the U.S. public and government leaders of its "true interests in the area." Less than one month later, Mobil placed a pro-Saudi ad in the *New York Times* and then brought it to the attention of Saudi

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

officials. Oil Minister Sheik Yamani commended Mobil, but remarked that this was "just a beginning" of what had to be done by the oil companies.

In shifting its advertising focus from an "analysis" of Middle East politics to the economic advantages of Saudi trade, Mobil hit upon a successful theme. But in light of the documentary evidence that previous Mobil activities were initiated at Saudi request, the most recent media campaign raises serious questions about whose interests Mobil was representing.

FROM THIS INVESTIGATION, it becomes clear that most corporations that lobbied on the Awacs attempted to keep their involvement secret, except, of course, from the two groups of people that counted the most—members of Congress and the Saudis. One source close to the Saudis said that even if the sale had not gone through, the U.S. corporations could have gone back to the Saudis with evidence of their loyalty. He said, "It was a process of building up chits."

Many corporate officials denied taking any position on the sale, but when presented with hard evidence of their involvement, they tried to dismiss it as a spontaneous expression of civic reponsibility. Upon further questioning, especially when asked if the Saudis communicated with them, they would drop the civics and maintain that their activities were spurred by economic self-interest. When asked whether the Saudis had pressed United Technologies into lobbying, a spokesman for the company said, "They [the Saudis] didn't have to. It was a matter of pure economic self-interest."

Most tellingly, it has been discovered that a handful of the major corporations agonized over the issue of lobbying for Awacs and finally decided not to do so. Some of them actually attended meetings of the Business Roundtable and receptions at the Saudi Embassy to give the impression that they backed the sale. Spokesmen for these firms have pleaded that they not be identified. One corporate official said, "If our absence on lobbying becomes conspicuous, there will be hell to pay."

From discussions with scores of corporate officials and spokesmen, it is also clear that most were unfamiliar with the substantive issues underlying the controversy behind the Awacs, nor did many of them care. But once these executives were made to feel that their contracts might be in jeopardy, or once they receive a call from Prince Bandar, or a request from the registered agents, or the telegrams from Boeing and United Technologies, or the memo from the American Businessmen's Group of Riyadh (a business lobby based in Saudi Arabia), or the message from Mobil Oil's editorial ads—they quickly called Western Union and started sending out telegrams.

Beyond the specific case of a particular arms deal, the corporate lobbying effort for the Awacs sale raises the more general question of whether American corporations will now play a broader role in the formulation of American foreign policy, particularly in the Middle East. Are the Saudis now guaranteed an American lobby—perhaps the most powerful there is—on future issues? Will the Saudis and their American surrogates now press for their interests extending beyond arms sales? The push so far has been in lobbying. The next step will be pegging corporate campaign contributions to candidates with the right views not only on business concerns but also on the Arab-Israel issue. The National Association of Arab Americans has begun pressuring chief executive officers on this basis.

Some corporations have already begun to use financial pressure in a negative way. According to Congressional and Republican Party sources, several major corporations refused to attend two fundraisers held on behalf of two Senators last fall, and others withdrew from participation in the fundraisers out of anger against the Senators' opposition to the Awacs sale. Arab-backed corporate contributions will become increasingly important in future elections. Oil-related interests alone in the 1980 election campaign are conservatively estimated as having accounted for over $5 million in contributions, and, according to a CBS News report broadcast on October 19, "more than half a million dollars in contributions to Senate candidates last year [was] from companies within the American Businessmen's Group of Riyadh." Of the six largest recipients, all supported the sale.

IN THE END, the fierce corporate lobbying campaign on behalf of the Awacs deal—and the powerful alliance between American business and the House of Saud that appears to be aborning—has little to do with the U.S. national interest. The alignment with Saudi Arabia is the product of vested interests, not national interests, and the proliferation of those vested interests creates an illusory impression of spontaneous and broad American support for Saudi Arabia. Eight years after Saudi Arabia invoked its oil embargo with the goal of forcing a change in American Middle East policy, that goal now seems within its reach. But oil is no longer the weapon of choice. The Saudis are acutely aware of the military and political dangers of another embargo, and they also understand that such an embargo would be ineffective in a world of oil gluts. The oil weapon has been transformed into a money weapon—one that can be wielded even in the absence of a cartel. The Saudis have discovered that quintessential American vulnerability, the love of money, and the petrodollar connection has become diffused throughout American society.

(This is the first of a series of articles. Future articles will deal with influence-peddling and the role of the Saudis' registered agents, and with the manipulation of public opinion through advertising and strings-attached donations to policy think tanks, universities, and research institutions.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STANLEY KAUFFMANN ON FILMS

Landscapes of War

If you've been confused about the reasons for the horrible civil war in Lebanon, be easy: the answer is at hand. All the bloodshed and destruction have occurred so that Bruno Ganz could have a setting in which to plumb his soul; and in which Hanna Schygulla could live coolly and luxuriously, ignoring the horror.

Circle of Deceit
(United Artists)

Missing
(Universal)

This information comes to us from Volker Schlöndorff's new film, *Circle of Deceit*. He is the husband of Margarethe von Trotta, whose exquisite *Sisters, or The Balance of Happiness* I reviewed last week. Von Trotta was one of the three writers who assisted her husband in writing the screenplay of his film, from a novel by Nicolas Born, but the result is so far inferior to *Sisters* that comparison is an offense.

The last Schlöndorff film seen here, *The Tin Drum*, was serious, frequently vivid, and generally unsuccessful. *Circle of Deceit* is spuriously serious, glibly vivid, and a disaster. In one aspect it's unique, but the film's poor quality nullifies even that aspect.

It's unique in that, to my knowledge, it's the first fiction film about a war that was made on the site while the war was going on. Ganz plays a German journalist who, with a photographer, is sent to Beirut to cover the war for his newspaper. Schlöndorff, instead of finding a look-alike setting, got permission to take his cast and crew to Beirut itself, if he restricted filming to certain now-quiet districts. (Though those districts had previously been badly battered.) The only comparable film I can remember is *The Outsider* (TNR, June 28, 1980), Tony Luraschi's brutally ignored and good film about the troubles in Northern Ireland. *The Outsider* was filmed in Eire, but I couldn't help wondering what the local residents thought of the mock fighting with the real fighting only some miles away. In *Circle of Deceit*, which is full of shootings and bombings and fires that are of course all movie stuff, I couldn't help wondering what the people of Beirut thought of these facsimiles being manufactured only streets away from the real killing.

The film would want to avoid seeming exploitative, I'd have thought, even if it were centrally about the Lebanese struggle. (Luraschi's film had no touch of exploitation.) But *Circle of Deceit* isn't really about the Lebanese troubles, though Schlöndorff and friends went to considerable pains to film most of it there: it's about Ganz's anguished soul. So it's streaked with opportunism, like those high-fashion photographs taken on location in front of impoverished Sardinian fishermen's homes or Peruvian villages.

We see Ganz suffering some sort of chic malaise before he leaves Germany, and the war in Lebanon is, from the film's view, simply a purgation or confirmation or realignment (choose one or all) for that malaise. And Schygulla, the widow of a wealthy Arab, lives with airy but italicized European detachment in the middle of destruction, with no thought of danger and, apparently, no risk, enjoying her fancy food and her lovers, one of whom for a time is Ganz. I wish that S. J. Perelman could have taken over the script and brought out its buried satire—the slaughter of thousands as a backdrop for outsiders' existential *Angst* or resignation.

In the very first shot, Ganz is sitting in his car in the rain outside his home in Germany, thinking things over before going in to see his wife. (The rain, folks, is Schlöndorff's symbol of the man's disquiet within.) The last shot is the same. Meanwhile Ganz has been to Lebanon and has returned to his newspaper for a conference. He is repelled, very nobly, by the pragmatic way in which the editors treat the material he and the photographer brought back, and he stalks out of the meeting. As he leaves, the chief editor taunts him with the only line in the picture that I liked: "Going off to write poetry?"

Ganz is a good actor, as he proved in *The Marquise of O...* and other films, but, like Marcello Mastroianni a generation before him, he is being converted into a rubber stamp of anomie. (In *Knife in the Head*, Ganz played an alienated man hospitalized for an injury, and at one point, sitting in a wheelchair with his bathrobe open, showed his philosophical doubts by pulling morosely at his penis. It was one *more* moment when I was glad that Stanislavsky is dead.) Schygulla is a good actress, as she proved in *Effi Briest* and other films, but, like Jeanne Moreau a generation before her, she is being converted into a rubber stamp of anomie. In less pretentious films, what these two actors are doing these days would be called merchandising.

A thesis can be cooked up for *Circle of*

FILMS WORTH SEEING

Chariots of Fire. Based on the true story of two British Olympic runners, 1924. Well characterized, generally well made, excellently acted, socially and ethically resonant.

My Dinner With André. Seemingly impromptu, carefully prepared table talk of André Gregory, theater director, and Wallace Shawn, playwright. Surprisingly fascinating.

Reds. The lives of John Reed and Louise Bryant (Warren Beatty and Diane Keaton), done in broad, often cutesy, sometimes fanciful, but consistently stirring style.

Sisters, or The Balance of Happiness. Margarethe von Trotta's delicate, strange film about two Hamburg sisters and their differing loves for each other. Melancholy, moving, perfectly made, ultimately a bit ambiguous—but so are many good poems.

SK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Deceit, of course: the jaded West versus the broiling Middle East, immobilized agnostics/atheists versus inflamed believers, and so on. But a thesis can be cooked up for anything these days. That sort of cooking has become the *haute cuisine* of criticism, especially film criticism.

Sex-and-children Note. Two weeks ago I commented on the frankness of sexual language and discussion between parents and children in *Shoot the Moon*, and stipulated my incompetence to judge its authenticity. In *Circle of Deceit*, more trouble for me along these lines. Early in this film, Ganz and his wife are in their bedroom when their little daughter comes in. They know she's there, but they fondle each other, strip, lie down on the bed, and go to it. Then the child leaves. Is this socially accurate? Or mere mod film daring? Will parents who have sex in front of their children please bring me up to date?

Missing, too, is set in the middle of bloody civil struggle (this time in a substitute location). It's an American film based on the true story of a young American named Charles Horman who disappeared in Santiago, Chile, during the turbulent days of Allende's overthrow in 1973. Witnesses told his wife several versions of a story which came down to the fact that, while she was out, a group of men had taken him away in a car, them made a mess of their home. Horman, a writer and filmmaker, was alleged to have "known too much," though all he knows in the film version is some general stuff about *American* activities in Chile, ostentatiously planted on him by an American stranger in a bar. Horman's father, a New York businessman, flew down to press the investigation. After some initial abrasion, he and his daughter-in-law worked together, plagued the American Embassy, and finally found out that Charles was one of the very many who had been executed. We're told, as the father and widow return to New York, that he sued the U.S. government for various defaults in duty and lost his case.

Missing was directed by Costa-Gavras who collaborated on the script with Donald Stewart. Eight years ago Costa-Gavras made a comparable film, *State of Siege* (TNR, May 5, 1973), about the abduction of an American AID official in Uruguay, his "trial" by revolutionaries,

One book Hitchcock might have written,

Hitchcock – The Murderous Gaze
William Rothman

The year's best thriller. This fascinating and challenging book illuminates the career of the master of suspense by offering a close analysis of five most memorable Hitchcock films: *The Lodger* (1926), *Murder!* (1930), *The Thirty-Nine Steps* (1935), *Shadow of a Doubt* (1943), and *Psycho* (1960).

Rothman's insights will sharpen even the casual cinema lover's appreciation of Hitchcock's genius and directorial cunning.

With more than 600 frame enlargements. *Harvard Film Studies* $27.50

two he would have read.

Night Thoughts of a Classical Physicist
Russell McCormmach

This remarkable combination of fact and fiction establishes a new genre in history of science writing. The reader inhabits the mind of Victor Jakob, an imaginary professor of physics, who reflects upon the passing of an epoch in both science and culture, and the dawning of a much more uncertain modern world.

"Compelling... This book gave me very much pleasure. It is part history, part physics, part politics of science and of University life in the midst of World War I." —I.I. Rabi
$15.00

Fiction and Repetition
Seven English Novels
J. Hillis Miller

In his first book in ten years, this distinguished literary theorist provides an enlightening and provocative interpretation of seven classic English novels: Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, Thackeray's *Henry Esmond*, Hardy's *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* and *The Well-Beloved*, Conrad's *Lord Jim*, and Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway* and *Between the Acts*.

Miller's readings send one back to the novels with a new appreciation of their riches.
$15.00

Available at your local bookstore

Harvard University Press

Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ies, and his execution—a film whose attempted objectivity did not cover its anti-U.S. animus and which had plenty of the excitement and political flavor that Costa-Gavras had put into such pictures as *Z* and *The Confession*. *State of Siege* was a foreign production, made in French.

BUT MISSING is an American film, so Chile isn't even named. It all takes place in an anonymous Latin-American country. Inferably, Costa-Gavras wanted to make a film attacking U.S. interference in Chile, using the Horman story as his locus, but that intent got very watered down on the way to the forum. In one scene the American ambassador tells the father that there are 3,000 American businesses in "this country" and that he must guard their interests: that's as close as the film comes to any kind of indictment. It never comes close to excitement. Whatever your views on the anti-Allende coup, it's boring to watch a film obviously on that subject in which Allende is never named and which carefully avoids having *any* view. We just see the father trudge from hotel to office to hospital to detention center, and so on. Costa-Gavras says that "filmmakers dream of going to Hollywood. This is my pilgrimage." It's also his castration.

The script is not only politically pallid, it's badly written. The structure is repetitious, the roles are unrewarding. John Shea, the son, seen early in the film, is given one of those highly compressed displays of characteristics which are a tip-off that this character is going to disappear soon. Sissy Spacek, his wife, is mostly sullen, not overwhelmed with anxiety about her husband, though they are said to have been happy, and with little belief in the inquiry. The spats between her and her father-in-law are tedious, put in to zing up the drama, which they don't, and to fill screen time, which they prolong. Jack Lemmon is the father and is less overblown than he has become in farce, like the recent *Buddy Buddy*, but not nearly as affecting as he was in *The China Syndrome* because he just doesn't have good material to work with.

Vocational Note. The writer-hero of *Shoot the Moon* is, depending on which review you read, "a serious writer"; "some sort of big-deal writer specializing in sports"; "a nonfiction writer who's had a rough time, whipping up free-lance articles to meet the bills"; or, according to myself (and another critic), a novelist whose novel wins a prize near the start of the film. One reviewer was so confused about what the writer writes that he devoted a paragraph to his confusion.

I went to see the beginning of the film again. It's not specified what sort of book he gets the prize for. We know only that he had a book entered in the contest of the previous year, and lost; and that his publisher's wife at the banquet table asks, as she looks around: "Where *is* nonfiction?" I think I settled on novelist in the vagueness because the film's subject made me think, distantly, of *La Notte*. (Next day, the man has to finish a cover article for a magazine but, obviously, that doesn't preclude his being a novelist.)

And I must reverse a phone call. I said that the man's girl friend calls him at his home, which is not believable. In fact, he calls her, which is at least equally unbelievable.

Views toward Church and state.

On Joyce's Centennial

By Richard Ellmann

What were Joyce's attitudes toward Church and state? To what extent was he shaped by the Catholicism he forswore? How committed was he to the liberation of Ireland? These questions haunt his hundredth birthday.

In later life, when Joyce was asked when he had left the Church, he remarked, "That's for the Church to say." By this time he recognized the complexities. In his youth he was not so guarded or ambiguous. He wrote to Nora Barnacle on August 29, 1904, "Six years ago [at 22] I left the Catholic Church, hating it most fervently. I found it impossible for me to remain in it on account of the impulses of my nature." The Church's attitude to sexuality was particularly repugnant to him. His letter went on, "I made secret war upon it when I was a student and declined to accept the positions it offered me." These positions, according to his brother Stanislaus, included that of priest. "By doing this I made myself a beggar but I retained my pride," Joyce wrote to Nora. "Now I make open war upon it by what I write and say and do."

His actions accorded with this policy. He neither confessed nor took communion. When his children were born he forbade baptism. His grandson was baptized against his wishes and without his knowledge. He preferred to live with Nora Barnacle for 27 years without marrying her. When at last a wedding became necessary for purposes of inheritance, he had it performed in a registry office. At his death, when the possibility of a religious service was mentioned, his wife said, "I couldn't do that to him."

So far all is straightforward. Joyce's rejection of the Church was compatible, however, with considerable interest in it and in its procedures. He was often derogatory. Priests, he said, were "barbarians armed with crucifixes." Or he would remark, as on March 13, 1908,

> None of the gratifications of the senses are half so odious as their mortifications which the saints practised; also the Church, whilst providing rewards for the senses of the glorified body, has promised none for the sense of taste or of touch.

Some of his devout friends took comfort in the way that Joyce regularly attended the services of Holy Week, and had particular pleasure in *Tenebrae*. He did so, however, like a tourist of another persuasion, standing at the back of the church. Another remnant of his early piety survived as a superstitious fear of thunderstorms, which he would do anything to avoid. Once, when thunder crashed and Joyce quailed, Thomas McGreevy admonished him, "Look at your children. They aren't frightened at all." "They have no religion," said Joyce with contempt. The marrow in his bones was at variance with his brain.

Richard Ellmann is professor of English at New College, Oxford, and the author of *James Joyce*, *Ulysses on the Liffey*, and *The Consciousness of Joyce*, all published by Oxford University Press.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Critics have sometimes contended that his books should not be taken as opposed to the Church. Of course no frontal attack is made in them. Joyce spoke in an early autobiographical essay of having adopted "urbanity in warfare" as his strategy. He was anxious that his books should not commit propaganda, even against institutions of which he disapproved. His brother's diary for April 1908 records that Joyce said of the novel, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, on which he was then working,

> it would not be aimed at Catholicism in Ireland; he didn't care a rap if Catholicism continued in Ireland for the next two thousand years. Some Hottentot religion would be too good for the people. At any rate, with the Catholic doctrine of grace—which . . . he considers the main doctrine of the Church—the priests could well defend these lenten banalities if they kept the faithful with the Church, the accumulator of grace. Their hell, too, they could defend in a similar manner, and it was a logical belief if one admitted their theory of sin and punishment.

JAMES JOYCE BY CHARLES WELLS

Stephen's apostasy accordingly is presented as a choice for himself, and not necessarily one for others. On the other hand, he is an exemplum, not only in his capacity as artist, but in his character of emancipated man. His initial submission, in fear and remorse, to the terrifying sermons about death, judgment, and punishment, changes to revulsion at their cruelty. Yet Joyce is careful not to overstate his case. If Father Dolan, who in the first chapter pandies Stephen unjustly, is sadistic, the priest who hears the boy's confession after the retreat in the third chapter is kind and gentle.

Apart from such sporadic concessions, the Church is regularly presented in terms of darkness, constriction, and thwart. Stephen finds that its emphasis on the soul is as lopsided as the prostitute's emphasis on the body. His most adroit maneuver is taking over its vocabulary for his own secular purposes. He receives a *call*, hears "a voice from beyond the world," but what it summons him to is not the priesthood but life, including sexual love, and an art that would content body and soul alike. The word *sin* is modified to error, to *fall* is only to experience: Stephen ecstatically contemplates "To live, to err, to fall, to triumph, to recreate life out of life." He himself achieves *resurrection*: "His soul had risen from the grave of boyhood, spurning her graveclothes." He is ordained into a new priestcraft of his own devising: he imagines himself "a priest of eternal imagination, transmuting the daily bread of experience into the radiant body of everliving life." At the book's end he even takes over from the Church the care of *conscience*; it is he and not the Church who will forge a conscience for his race.

Just what this new conscience was to be Joyce clarifies in *Ulysses*. Neither Bloom nor Stephen could be described as pagan, though neither acknowledges any institutional belief. Bloom, in offering his conception of love as against the Citizen's hatred and violence, is voicing a humanist ethic. He also fulfills the role of the Good Samaritan when Stephen is knocked down. So far as Catholicism is concerned, he ruminates humorously about confession, communion, resurrection, marveling at the hold these strange conceptions have. Stephen, reared among them, but unwilling to accept Catholic limitations of his independence, is in active rebellion. His climactic moment comes as his mother's ghost, like that of the Commendatore in *Don Giovanni*, thrice summons him to repent. His anguished retort is "Shite!" when the true pagan would neither see the ghost nor recognize any inclination to repent. Stephen is never insouciant. When he points to his head and quotes Blake, who in turn was alluding to Dante, "But in here it is I must kill the priest and the king," Joyce at once sanctions his "mental fight" and accepts the responsibility for this rebellion.

In *Finnegans Wake* Joyce seems more relaxed about the Church and about rebellion. Shaun, as a hypocritical do-gooder with a claim to piety, is steadily mocked, but so is his errant and agnostic brother. Catholicism has its place in the book, a pervasive one that involves Saint Patrick, countless popes, church history, and theological squabbles. In terms of universal history, which the *Wake* presents, the Church's punctilio about forgotten issues adds to the joyful polyphony. In the night world shot through with dreams, religion appears no better and no worse than other human obsessions.

To be opposed to the Church as an

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

institution is one thing; to be opposed to all religious feeling is another. At moments Joyce surprised his atheistical brother Stanislaus by unexpected concessions. Stanislaus noted in his diary on August 7, 1908, that James said

> he believed that in his heart every man was religious. He spoke from his knowledge of himself. I asked him did he mean that everyone had in his heart some faith in a Deity, by which he could be influenced. He said, 'Yes.'

That this was not just a passing fancy appears to be borne out in *Ulysses*—less in Stephen and Bloom, who disclaim faith, than in Molly. She, while contemptuous of piety, is also contemptuous of impiety, and approves a vague theism:

> as for them saying theres no God I wouldnt give a snap of my two fingers for all their learning why dont they go and create something I often asked him atheists or whatever they call themselves. . . .

Although in May 1905 Joyce pronounced himself to be incapable of belief of any kind, he evidently had more than a few grains left. But any approach to orthodoxy repelled him. When a priest in Zurich pointed out on a starry night the order of the stars and used it to prove the existence of God, Joyce replied acidly, "What a pity that it is all based on mutual interdestruction!"

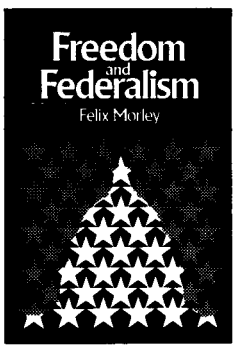
He had much the same feelings of intransigence toward the British state, as the occupying power in Ireland, that he had toward the Catholic Church. "Political awareness" was a quality he valued in writers. Joyce was politically aware without being political. That is, day-to-day politics did not interest him, but he thought of his writing as subsuming politics within it. His earliest recorded work was his lost poem about the man who had tried to lead Ireland to independence, Parnell. Flag-waving nationalism was not to his taste, but he regarded political independence as an aspect of the larger independence he was seeking. His brother records a conversation they had in April 1907. Stanislaus urged that an independent Ireland would be intolerable. "What the devil are your politics?" asked James. "Do you not think Ireland has a right to govern itself and is capable of doing so?" During his ten years in Trieste Joyce wrote nine articles setting forth the Irish "problem" for a local newspaper, and in 1914 he offered them as a book to an Italian publisher. They were not accepted: a pity, because they would have demonstrated that Joyce was altogether aware of and concerned about the political situation of his country.

JOYCE is sometimes said to have been a lifelong Parnellite, but he was opposed to turning great dead men into stone effigies. In *Ulysses* he mocks the idea that Parnell is still alive and will return. The one post-Parnellite politician whom Joyce felt he could endorse was Arthur Griffith, who pleased him by being "unassuming" and "not indulging in flights." He liked Griffith's policy for two reasons especially, its nonviolence and its economic boycott of Britain. About the boycott he remarked on May 16, 1907, "The Sinn Fein policy comes to fighting England with knife and fork," and said it was "the highest form of political warfare I have heard of." In 1912 he asked Griffith's advice in connection with his troubles over publishing *Dubliners*, and was pleased to be treated as a man having a common cause though working in a less obviously political medium. For he had remained faithful to his goal of creating new Irishmen and Irishwomen through the honesty and scorching candor of his writing.

In *Ulysses* he acknowledged Griffith's political importance by making many references to him, alone among politicians of the day. And he called attention to the ultimately political direction of his own work by having Irish Stephen, at the end of the brothel scene, beaten up by a *British* soldier, whom he defies as "the uninvited." Joyce was gratified when, just before *Ulysses* was published in 1922, Arthur Griffith was elected the first president of Ireland. The cultural emancipation of the country, with which Joyce had charged himself, seemed to be succeeding at the same time as the more limited but almost equally necessary political emancipation, which he associated with Griffith.

But Griffith died within a few months, and then the Civil War broke out. When Nora Joyce with their two children was fired on while visiting

LibertyPress
LibertyClassics



Freedom and Federalism

By Felix Morley

With a new Introduction by the Author

An historical analysis of the basic principles of government, with special emphasis on the transition from republican federalism to democratic nationalism in the United States. Dr. Morley sees the preservation of the federal principle as vital to the dispersion of political power and as required to protect individual liberty and to preserve social order in "a condition of freedom." He concludes that "the uncritical praise and practice of political democracy can readily be the highway to dictatorship in the United States."
Hardcover $8.00, Paperback $3.50.

Prepayment is required on all orders not for resale. We pay postage on prepaid orders. Please allow 4 to 6 weeks for delivery. *All* orders from outside the United States *must* be prepaid *in U.S. dollars*. To order, or for a copy of our catalogue, write:
LibertyPress/LibertyClassics
7440 North Shadeland, Dept. 430
Indianapolis, IN 46250

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Galway during that war, Joyce grew more skeptical. He had called himself a socialist in his early twenties, then said he was an anarchist, though not a "practical anarchist in the modern sense." During World War I, when he was committed to neutrality, he began to describe himself as apolitical, though he considered his litigation against a British consular official named Henry Carr to be a nationalistic action. The creation of the Free State had satisfied his political ambition, always secondary to his cultural ones, but subsequent events made him feel that his immediate reaction could not be sustained. In 1932 he was invited to a St. Patrick's Day party in Paris; he declined to attend it because the Irish Ambassador to France, Count O'Kelly, was also to be present, and Joyce did not wish to imply that he in any way endorsed the present Irish state. "I do not mind 'larking' with [High Commissioner] Dulanty in London but I care nothing about politics," he wrote.

> Ireland, with Ulster in, will probably be a separate republic in ten or fifty years and I do not suppose anyone in England will really care two hoots whether it is or not. They are doing many things more efficiently, I am told, than was possible under the old regime but any semblance of liberty they had when under England seems to have gone—and goodness knows that was not much.

Yet indifference was not a characteristic of a man who made a point of reading Irish newspapers every day, and who took a passionate interest in every detail of his native land. However skeptical he became of political progress, he endeavored in all his books to achieve something superpolitical, by disclosing sharply what life in Ireland was, and dimly what it might be. This was his higher politics.

THE POETICS OF POWER

Agon: Towards a Theory of Revisionism by Harold Bloom

(Oxford University Press, 336 pp., $19.95)

Harold Bloom's new book is a miscellany ("addresses, essays, lectures," as the cataloging information puts it). Bits of it have appeared in print already (most recently in *Raritan*), and the occasional nature of some of its portions (an address given in Israel, a rehabilitation of a forgotten fantasy-novel, remarks to psychoanalysts) belies Bloom's wish to have it considered a book. It was not conceived as a book, it does not read like a book, and there is no need to defend it as a book. Any collection of essays and addresses composed in the span of a few years by a single powerful mind will tend to return to the same questions, and to urge (even covertly) the same views; only in that sense is this a book. I have no objection to Bloom's calling his central subject to our attention by his one-word title; and his preface does remind us that, although his topics and audiences may vary, he is himself in the grip of a powerful myth of struggle which he recommends, yet again, to our attention.

The myth is the story of what Bloom now calls "revisionism." This means, briefly put, the polemic impulse; whatever you say, I want to argue against, correct, go you one better, revise your myth into a version more my own. In its crudest form, this is the murder of the father by the sons, the original parricide by the filial generation treading down the version of life inscribed by the father so that they may inscribe one of their own. People obsessed with revising others are, we may say, perpetual sons, fixed in sonship and rivalry. The delectation of parricide appeals to certain temperaments (and maybe to those of one sex more than to others); and perhaps there are countermyths equally powerful (those of symbiosis, bestowal, and benevolence, for example). Bloom's myth is not the only possible one, and his most cogent critics have always seen that his model—agon, struggle, revision—is not the only one to be invoked to explain literary (or human) relations. But Bloom, like any obsessive writer, has "one story and one story only," and I am not disposed to quarrel with anyone's story. The question is whether the story helps to light up either life or literature.

THE CHIEF MODERN illumination of life offered by the model of rivalry has already been furnished by Freud. Bloom's essays borrow from Freud not the therapeutic pragmatics abstracted by analysts, but rather an arsenal of metaphor and plenary texts: "Freud, in my judgment, wrote two texts which truly are High Romantic crisis poems, *On Narcissism: An Introduction* and *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*." And Bloom proposes a reading of one of them "strictly following the paradigm of the crisis lyric as I have developed it in some previous books." This high-handed way with texts provokes some commentators to intemperate remarks about Bloom. But I am not unwilling to see Bloom connect the practices of the psyche with the practices of poetry (even though Freud is no poet except by a definition so broad as to be useless). Poetry appears, in Bloom's essays, as a series of defenses; all figures of rhetoric (Bloom calls them tropes) then become ways of *not* saying the literal truth, of defending against it. The process by which drives, defenses, and repetition-compulsions operate in life does not seem, in Bloom's rephrasings of Freud, uncongenial to the acts a poem goes through in its unfolding. If, when one returns to a poem after reading Bloom, one is more alert to the uncanny self-purging of "those images which yet/ Fresh images beget," of the drive to limit and yet to represent, then Bloom's suggestions have been worth entertaining. The composing of poetry is such a mysterious process that we cannot afford to do without any models that illuminate it. And I have often been at a loss to understand the degree of hostility that Bloom's work has provoked; but reading this book has made me consider that curious phenomenon afresh. (Of course the opposite phenomenon is also visible; many young critics are imitating Bloom.)

Bloom has now been writing about poetry for almost 30 years. This puts him in the small group of people in any generation for whom poetry is an unavoidable subject. However, he has used the study of poetry to write about a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Three Honest Men: Edmund Wilson, F. R. Leavis, Lionel Trilling edited by Philip French

(Carcanet New Press, distributed by Persea Books, 120 pp., $18.95)

In the mid-1970s, Philip French, a film critic for the *Observer* and producer of talks and documentaries for the BBC's Third Programme (now Radio Three), produced three programs on major literary critics, taking Edmund Wilson, F.R. Leavis, and Lionel Trilling as his subjects. Splicing together queries and observations of his own with taped reminiscences by others, French assembled what he calls "critical mosaics," in which the outlines of these critics' careers were drawn, to the degree they could be, in miniature. One might regard the method as that of "oral history" brought to the history of ideas, and, as any documentarian knows, it is no easy matter to select the appropriate commentators and to elicit from them responses that are both exact and mutually complementary. It may be said of French that he did admirably on both counts, with such commentators as Irving Howe, George Steiner, and a host of other critics and intellectuals.

French's title, *Three Honest Men*, is misleading if it be supposed that he celebrates these critics for their special sincerity and love of truth. He explains that by honesty he means something like intellectual self-reliance—the conviction, shared by all three, that "ultimately men and minds must prevail over methods, and where they do not the insights and judgments will lack savour and intellectual authority." That self-reliance, that dissenter's anathema of system and doxology, runs like a bright thread through all the portraits, and the book might better have been titled, without, I think, giving offense, *Anglo-Saxon Attitudes* or *Studies in Protestantism*, for the temper and method (criticism is never *wholly* without method) that Wilson, Trilling, and Leavis shared: a mixture of independence and sobriety that bespeaks a heritage steeped in Protestant dissent, of which Trilling's Judaism, as I'll explain, may be considered a version. Wilson, Leavis, and Trilling were men who, in less secular times, might well have found their calling in the ministry or the rabbinate.

Though none was a Marxist in any way that mattered in the long run—Wilson and Trilling passed through Marxist phases in the 1930s and suffered lingering aftereffects that might warrant our thinking of them later as "post-Marxists"—all three shared the Marxist propensity for seeing the world whole, tempered by the Hegelian view of that wholeness as essentially spiritual and therefore uniquely subject to probing by the imagination. They admitted no distinction between literary values and social or spiritual ones, but assumed a single moral universe in which literature, the novel in particular, spoke for the spiritual condition of society. Criticism, then, possessed a quasi-doctrinal value and participated with literature in both the definition of culture and its formation; criticism, as much as literature, performed a duty in the chastening of conduct and the nurturance of emotions.

Steven Marcus calls attention to Trilling's admiration for Freud as a stoic moralist, who gave approval to the renunciation of desire and portrayed civilization as a structure of sublimations. Jason Epstein, commenting on Wilson's stubborn independence of mind, hails him as a "man of the Old Testament." As for Leavis, his stirring rendition of the prophet Jeremiah is everywhere noted. Though only Leavis ever assumed in full the Mosaic character of prophet scorned, all three suffered severe dejection, of sometimes quite bitter depths, in their later years. Here, surely, were ministers without a church, except in the Arnoldian sense in which literature itself is a prosthetic, secular church possessing all the customary accoutrements of a religion: canons of faith, moral drama, dogma, consolation, schism, and ecclesiastical contention.

But for Wilson and Trilling, at least—though not, I think, Leavis—literature was a church of skepticism in which doubts and resistances were honored above certainties. In such a church the one's residual Calvinism could join hands with the other's faded Judaism, both cultural identities that had outlived the religions that had formed them, existing only as isolated habits of being, codes of personal decorum that placed a high value on work, forthrightness, and integrity, and set high standards for politics and culture. Cultural Judaism, divorced from the ceremonies of Jewish life and the stringent demands and observances of the Jewish religion, maintained only as a discipline of personal nobility, becomes a kind of Protestantism by default, strong in routines of dissent but weak in principles of affirmation. Similarly, Protestantism, released of any conception of heaven and hell and the doctrine of man's salvation through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, melts into the brand of secular Judaism described by Matthew Arnold as "Hebraism." As the stern and exalted rhetoric that marks these symposia makes plain, the church of literature, in which these three men could pursue their callings at so steep a pitch of moral intensity, is a makeshift parsonage in which lie reconciled and indistinguishable the secularized remains of two once-potent religions: Judaism and Puritanism.

It is just such illuminations by juxtaposition that an otherwise scattershot book like *Three Honest Men* is good for. The book is finally and essentially, I have to say, a compendium of commonplaces that some of its readers, whoever they might be, will be familiar with. But these are vital commonplaces that bear retelling; and given what passes for pioneering work in the book world, some commonplaces are decidedly attractive and necessary.

MARK SHECHNER

Mark Shechner teaches English at the State University of New York at Buffalo, and is at work on a book about Jewish writers in America.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

subject even more important to him than poetry—the subject of conflict between what has come before and one's own presentness. He rather regrets, now, that he originally presented this conflict through the special case of poetic sons against fathers. He now sees the struggle, which he once called "the anxiety of influence," as a cultural motive larger than the intergenerational poetic one; he renames it "revisionism."

It may be that Bloom will never know any other subject as well as he knows poetry, but he has made intrepid, if eccentric, efforts to become learned in psychoanalysis and, more recently, in kabbalistic theology and early gnosticism. In each of these he finds revisionism (a later text challenging an earlier text) the stimulus without which nothing interesting would ever get said. Freud revises his medical mentors; then he revises himself (a life work); then he revises his "sons," notably Jung. The Jewish Gnostics revise received ideas of creation, and postulate instead a catastrophe, an Abyss, and a Demiurge. It must be noticed that these are not temperate revisions, but passionate ones. Bloom is not interested in dispassionate debate (whether philosophical or aesthetic) but rather in new founding myths, new metaphors of creation, a violent positing of self against self. Old vessels are broken, not used for new wine. This catastrophe-creation is the myth Bloom sets against two gentler theories—of creation by evolutionary adaptation, and creation by inheritance and modification. (And it is his passion, I think, and the rhetoric it produces, that set others' teeth on edge.)

THE THEORY OF struggle means, when applied to art, that the struggle is inevitably, if not familial, at least local. American poets struggle with other American poets, or with ideas of Americanness. Bloom is a fiercely nativist critic. For him, the central way to see Whitman is against Emerson, and the central way to see Stevens is against Whitman and Emerson, and the central way to see Ashbery is against Stevens and Whitman and Emerson, and so on. It is just barely permissible to see American poets struggling against poets writing in England (since there is continuity of language and a problematic dependency in culture); but Bloom is witty at the expense of those who would draw literature into a world outside the shared culture:

> Poems [are] embedded in time and place, and American poems tenaciously remain texts resembling Walt Whitman and not Stéphane Mallarmé. A Derridean reading of Stevens is as charming a notion as a William Jamesian reading of Mallarmé; I long to see the advanced journals crowded with articles on the pragmatic principle at work in *Un coup de dés*.

This is funny, and true, and corrective. One of the attractions of reading Bloom is that he hurls himself against the opposition as though the struggle were of immense moment, and yet saves himself, with wit, from the disproportions of humorlessness. Bloom demands of us that we grant, as an axiom, the supreme importance of art. The most marvelous bishops of heaven, said Stevens, were those that made heaven seem heavenly; the most marvelous critics of poetry are those that make poetry seem central to human life. Eliot and Arnold, though Bloom has reservations about both, were not lacking in that evangelistic impetus when they spoke of poetry.

Bloom claims religious seriousness himself, but wants to reverse Stevens's Arnoldian remark that poetry "must take the place/ Of empty heaven and its hymns." Bloom insists (as Stevens does elsewhere) that religion itself is a creation of *poesis*, and that when cultural historians realize that it is the poetry-making faculty which has, over the centuries, invented all myths, all religions, and all the systems of relations that we call culture (including art and science), then, and only then, will that faculty be investigated, and its motives described, as it deserves. For the moment, Bloom represents himself as a lone hero making forays into the impulses and workings of that mighty faculty, whether it manifests itself in theological revisionism (the Gnostics, the kabbalists), in psychological model-building (Freud, Lacan), or in poetic invention.

However, it is by this wish to write an all-encompassing theory of imaginative activity that Bloom diffuses himself into a Casaubon-like Key to All Mythologies. It is not even that what he says is untrue; the dynamic of revisionism is real, it is everywhere in human thought and human production, and it has understandable connections with power, masculinity, and creation. ("I wish that I

¡Speak Spanish like a diplomat!

What sort of people need to learn a foreign language as quickly and effectively as possible? *Foreign service personnel*, that's who. Members of America's diplomatic corps are assigned to U.S. embassies abroad, where they must be able to converse fluently in every situation.

Now you can learn to speak Spanish just as these diplomatic personnel do— with the Foreign Service Institute's Programmatic Spanish Course.

The U.S. Department of State has spent thousands of dollars developing this course. It's by far the most effective way to learn Spanish at your own convenience and at your own pace.

The Programmatic Spanish Course consists of a series of cassettes and accompanying textbook. Simply follow the spoken and written instructions, listening and repeating. By the end of the course, you'll be learning and speaking entirely in Spanish!

This course turns your cassette player into a "teaching machine." With its unique "programmatic" learning method, you set your own pace—testing yourself, correcting errors, reinforcing accurate responses.

AUDIO-FORUM®

This Programmatic Course comes in two volumes. Order one or both.

☐ **Volume I: Basic.** 12 cassettes, (17 hr.), 464-page text, plus manual, $115.

☐ **Volume II: Intermediate.** 8 cassettes, (11½ hr.), 614-page text, plus manual, $98.

(Conn. and N.Y. residents add sales tax)
Shipped in handsome library binders.

TO ORDER, JUST CLIP THIS AD and mail with your name and address, and a check or money order. Or, charge to your credit card (American Express, VISA, MasterCard, Diners Club) by enclosing card number, expiration date, and your signature.

The Foreign Service Institute's Spanish course is unconditionally guaranteed. Try it for three weeks. If you're not convinced it's the fastest, easiest, most painless way to learn Spanish, return it and we'll refund every penny you paid. Order today!

Many other FSI language courses also available. Write us.

Audio-Forum
Suite 136
On the Green,
Guilford, CT. 06437
(203) 453-9794

Or visit our New York sales office: 145 E. 49th St., New York, N.Y. 10017 (212)753-1783

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could wish that I had written [Genesis]," said Bloom in the Christmas issue of the *New York Times Book Review*, reaching beyond revisionism to origins.) For me, the myth finally becomes insufficient because so univocally applied. If every crisis-poem follows a predictable pattern (one found in psychoanalytical essays, too, and no doubt in theological speculation, Bloom will tell us), then this pattern does not tell me how poems are different from psychological essays or texts for the faithful. Poems move us in ways that essays, however imaginative or metaphorical or deeply felt, do not.

Bloom's attachment to poetry is neither exclusive nor generic. He writes almost as gladly of essays or of science fiction. I can conceive of an art historian who would turn from Cézanne to write, with the same degree of relish, on Wittgenstein; but we could say he was interested in questions of representation rather than in painting. To see a poet and a philosopher as two instances of a modern epistemological problem is to forget, for the moment, that one of them works in paint and the other in philosophical language. The question, "What is it to work in paint?" cannot be answered with remarks on Wittgenstein. Similarly, the question, "What is it to be a poet?" cannot be answered with remarks on Freud or Salvador Luria. The question "What is it to have an imagination?" on the other hand, might well be addressed, as it is here, by looking at kabbalistic inventors of new religious myths, at Viennese inventors of new psychological models, and at American inventors of new poetic personae. But those answers, though they may describe imagination, do not describe the ways it is discriminated in poetry.

Bloom's indifference to both the relational systems of poetry and to the language-registers of poetry is the defect of his great virtue—a lifelong absorption in the powers and motives of the "imagination." He dislikes that vague word; we all do. Nonetheless, it is all we have as a name for the mythopoeic faculty that links seers, prophets, scientific revolutionaries, and poets. Bloom urges us to see in such "revisionists" the mind's domination over the raw material of perception. That domineering organizing power of the mind is Bloom's version of power; the mind takes dominion not only over sense-perception but over its own anterior models, which are jettisoned as trash of the past. Robert Lowell's picture of himself revising his revisions is an emblem of the imagination as modernist poet, compelled always to a re-vision of earlier models of perception and verity alike.

Bloom reminds us that the history of theological re-vision as a narrative of the imagination struggling against its own received models has not yet been written (hedged round as that subject is by piety and sectarianism), nor has the mysterious history of the mind's successive pictures of its own workings—Freud's heroic self-revisings are only a small chapter in the history of human charts of the psyche. The essays in this book on gnosticism and Freud are the beginnings of the grand history of the imagination that Bloom would like to write (a history that may be vitiated by his inflexible assumption that only one model, the revisionary one of agonistic struggle, will explain the whole). In this grand history, the history of poetry is only one chapter, of course; but Bloom has wonderful essays here on Whitman and Crane (there are other less-successful essays on Stevens, Ashbery, and Hollander).

It is always revealing to read a critic's words on his first poet:

> I remember reading [lines of Crane] when I was ten years old, crouched over Crane's book in a Bronx library. They, and much else in the book, cathected me onto poetry. . . . Though other poets followed (I went from Crane to Blake) the strength of first love still hovers whenever I read Crane.

The link with Blake and Shelley ("with whom [Crane's] affinities were deep") shows Bloom's deep attraction to a view of man as "Orphic and Promethean," ever in assertive struggle against loss and Fate. This is Bloom's agonistic model of what it means to be a consciousness. An alternative model—the Keatsian one—would see consciousness not as struggle and overcoming, not as the emptying out of nature in favor of spirit, but rather as a deep recognition of the undeniable. This alternative model proposes that most of us are engaged in a struggle not to see what is before our eyes; the poet is the person who consents to see the pain and ugliness (Keats's words) that others deny.

Keats, Shakespeare, and Wordsworth (poets not in Bloom's pantheon) had none of the strenuousness of the Protestant prophetic tradition (though in envy Wordsworth and Keats sometimes imitated it). The trope of these poets is helplessness, not power; wise passivity or negative capability, not usurpation and domination. There is a side to the workings of the imagination that Bloom willfully refuses to see; it is the helpless side, the side on which reality impinges, the aspect of imagination represented by the Keatsian trope of the open eye. The North Star watches all that happens, "with eternal lids apart." It does not impose; it does not domineer; it does not invent. This myth is as im-

WHIP-POOR-WILL

Every night at nine o'clock, when the last light of June
goes in the West, the whip-poor-will sings his three
clear brief notes—separate, pure, transparent—
repeating himself beside the darkening house,
then rises abruptly from sandy ground, a brown
bird in the near-night, soaring over shed and woodshed
to far dark fields. When he returns with the light,
before cock-crow, in my sleep I hear his three
syllables make a man's name who slept fifty years
in this bed and ploughed these fields:
Wes-ley-Wells, Wes-ley-Wells.
It is good to wake early
in high summer with work to do, and look out the window
at the ghost bird lifting away
to eat the delicious insects dusky in the gray morning
and drowse the whole day nested in his grassy hut.

DONALD HALL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHAT IN THE WORLD IS GOING ON?

"FOREIGN POLICY offers diverse but authoritative perspectives on issues of immense and immediate significance to our country."

Senator Howard Baker, Jr.

"FOREIGN POLICY... important reading in an uneasy world where foreign policy is everybody's business."

Senator Gary Hart

"FOREIGN POLICY consistently attracts the most impressive authors on current affairs. ...provocative...readable."

Hedrick Smith
The New York Times

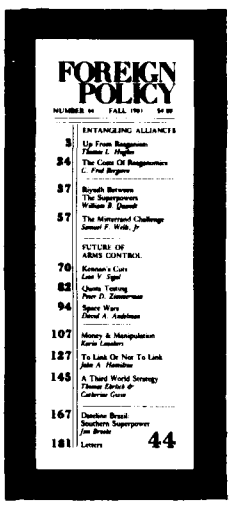
Yes, FOREIGN POLICY Is *my business*!

Please enter a one-year subscription (4 issues) for only $12 — 25% off the regular newsstand price of $16.

GUARANTEE
I understand that full refund is guaranteed if I cancel on seeing the first issue.

☐ Payment enclosed
☐ Bill me

Name _____
(Please Print)
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____



Send to:

FOREIGN POLICY
Subscription Department
Box 984
Farmingdale, N.Y. 11737

7NR9

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

portant to the Keatsian poet as the more Bloomian myth of ablution, which nightly washes away what the anterior day produced. A complete history of the imagination would tell not only the story of struggle but also the story of being "halted, without an effort to break through"; of being "in the mist." In the meantime, Bloom's antithetical history of will, of assertive voice, of renewed immediacy, of shattered vessels replaced by new ones, will provoke, with its eloquence, a proof of its own model—a counterstatement about the darker side of imaginative recessiveness.

Readers of these essays (besides learning more about Emerson, Freud, and the poets) will be unsettled by Bloom's deliberately provocative sentences on anxiety, knowledge, evasion, negation, rhetoric, poetic generation, anteriority, and canon-formation. Bloom always imports buttressing texts (from theology or philosophy, preferably) to do his living for him, so to speak; it is a sign of his strength that against his anterior texts he has established a daunting canon of his own. This collection is not a major book in his canon; but those who want (as I do) to accompany Bloom in his explorations of culture and poetry will go willingly down these byroads with him. Or would, if the price of the book ($20) did not seem so bizarrely steep.

HELEN VENDLER

Helen Vendler teaches at Boston University and Harvard. She is finishing a book on the odes of Keats.

AMERICA'S FORGOTTEN WAR

Korea: The Untold Story of the War by Joseph C. Goulden

(Times Books, 650 pp., $18.50)

Historians cringe when a writer describes his book as an "untold story." In the case of the Korean War, scholars and journalists have been writing about it almost from the time the first shot was fired. I. F. Stone published his suggestive *The Hidden History of the Korean War* in 1952; John Spanier gave us a classic account of the Truman-MacArthur controversy in 1959. Other scholars, such as Glenn D. Paige, Allen Whiting, and Ronald J. Caridi, have published excellent books on such specific issues as the decision to intervene, the Chinese entry, and the domestic political ramifications of the conflict. And a host of military historians, from Robert Leckie to S. L. A. Marshall, have detailed the course of battle, culminating in the multivolume U.S. Army history of the fighting. Yet Goulden claims he is the first to sketch in "the big picture," thus ignoring the fine overview by David Rees, *Korea: The Limited War*, which has been the standard general account since it appeared in 1964.

Despite this rich literature, Goulden does have some basis for his claim. Nearly all the books on the Korean War came out before the escalation of the Vietnam conflict in 1965 and were based primarily on public sources, notably the transcripts of the special Congressional committee to investigate the dismissal of Douglas MacArthur. Vietnam overshadowed Korea for a decade and a half, permitting the nation to forget the earlier conflict. Goulden has taken advantage of the passage of time and the Freedom of Information Act to unearth a broad range of previously classified sources, ranging from CIA intelligence reports to a series of high-level memoranda and cables between the Joint Chiefs of Staff and MacArthur's headquarters in Tokyo. He also uses recently opened material in the Truman Library and a sanitized official history of the JCS to throw a great deal of new light on decisionmaking in Washington. With less discretion, he relies heavily on a few interviews with participants, notably one former CIA agent, to make some startling but not fully convincing revelations.

The result is a curious mixture of the known and the unknown, of significant historical insights and rambling excursions into the trivia of the war. Most of what Goulden covers is familiar, including his analysis of the American decision to intervene in Korea in June 1950, the details of the major military episodes, and his recounting of the Truman-MacArthur showdown. At the same time, he neglects many important and still unexplored aspects of the war. There is virtually nothing on the home front except for MacArthur's triumphal reception after his dismissal. In vain the reader searches for an analysis of public attitudes, a consideration of the economic impact of the war, or a connection between Korea and McCarthyism, which was at its height in the early 1950s. Equally disappointing is the lack of chronological balance. Goulden spends 500 pages on the first year of the war, through MacArthur's firing in the spring of 1951, and less than 150 on the next two years of stalemate, bitter positional warfare, and complex diplomatic maneuvering that culminated in the 1953 armistice.

The greatest service of Goulden's book is to remind us of this forgotten war and force us to confront its troublesome strategic issues. As the first resort to arms by the United States since the onset of the cold war, Korea raised a series of vital questions. It tested the mettle of the Truman Administration; it highlighted the difficult problem of the relationship between civilian and military leaders in wartime; it revealed the fundamental importance of good intelligence as a basis for informed policy decisions; and it forced the nation's leaders to think about the nuclear dilemma—the gap between limited goals and virtually unlimited power.

HISTORIANS HAVE long praised Harry Truman for his ability to make decisions under pressure. Yet revisionist writers have also contended that in spite of his legendary slogan, "the buck stops here," Truman in fact habitually delegated authority to his subordinates. Goulden's account bears out this point. It was Secretary of State Dean Acheson, not Truman, who made virtually all the crucial decisions of the Korean War. The President was in Missouri when the North Korean invasion began; Acheson informed him of the attack but urged him to take his time returning to Washington. It was Acheson who suggested using the U.N. Se-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

curity Council to condemn North Korea as an aggressor; Acheson who advocated ordering MacArthur first to use air power in Korea and then to commit American ground forces to battle. As the war progressed, Truman allowed his Secretary of State to make such crucial decisions as crossing the 38th parallel after the victory at Inchon and to stand and fight in Korea after the Chinese intervention in the fall of 1950.

Equally revealing is Goulden's emphasis on the lack of reflection that characterized the Truman Administration's policy. Neither Truman nor Acheson seemed aware of the momentous consequences of their decision to reverse the previous American policy that treated Korea as expendable and to make an all-out stand there. The United States had only ten combat divisions available in 1950; the Administration committed four of them to Korea in a few week's time. Despite a desire to give NATO priority, the Truman Administration gave up any realistic possibility of defending Western Europe in order to prove to the world America's willingness not to abandon an ally. Ray Cline, a CIA analyst who praised the decision to intervene as "a noble stroke," nonetheless pointed out the lack of "serious analysis" that went into it and called it a case of "act now, think later." Acheson dismissed such carping as unrealistic, claiming later that given the urgency of the situation, "if you stopped to analyze what you were doing, you immobilized yourself." Other snap Truman decisions, from the dropping of the two atomic bombs to the Berlin airlift, suggest that while the President's instincts may have been sound, it was dangerous to conduct national policy without any thoughtful consideration of long-term consequences of actions taken in haste.

The entire course of the Korean War reflects the drawbacks of Truman's method of decisionmaking. His tendency to delegate authority proved disastrous when he gave Douglas MacArthur nearly complete freedom to conduct the war as he saw fit. Truman and Acheson, lacking a coherent strategy, were the prisoners of events. When MacArthur won his daring gamble at Inchon, they let him pursue the North Korean forces north of the 38th parallel and spoke of unifying Korea along democratic lines. But when the Chinese entered the conflict and drove MacArthur's forces back down the peninsula, they responded by returning to the policy of defending the 38th parallel and seeking an end to the fighting in a divided Korea. Hasty judgments led to perilous commitments and unintended consequences. Goulden condemns Truman and Acheson as "bunglers" for their inept handling of the Korean conflict—a judgment difficult to challenge.

THE RELATIONSHIP between military and civilian advisers in the conduct of the Korean War is a theme that runs through Goulden's book. From the outset, he is critical of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and especially its chairman, General Omar Bradley, for not playing a more aggressive role in shaping national policy. He has two main charges against the JCS. First, the military leaders should have confronted the President and Secretary of State with the fact that, in committing the United States to the defense of Korea, they were not only reversing a long-standing policy but were dangerously overcommitting the nation's limited military resources. Bradley and the Army Chief, J. Lawton Collins, warned that stripping the nation's available forces to supply enough men to fight in Korea would make it difficult to honor commitments elsewhere in the world, but they did not press the point. Thus the Korean War became a classic example of a nation permitting its ends to outrun its means.

The second JCS failure related to MacArthur. Instead of issuing clear and precise directives to this legendary commander, Bradley and his colleagues in Washington equivocated, outlining the Administration's broad aims but giving the theater commander wide latitude in fulfilling them. Thus MacArthur was able to carry out his campaigns in Korea virtually free of interference, dividing his armies dangerously as he approached the Yalu River and ignoring the risk of Chinese intervention. When the JCS questioned MacArthur about his actions, he ignored his superiors. "He always considered us a bunch of kids," complained Bradley. "General MacArthur has always pretty much gone his own way." This pathetic lament reveals the extent to which the Joint Chiefs had failed to perform their duty.

Dean Acheson quickly filled the vacuum created by the timidity of the JCS. From the outset, as Goulden points out repeatedly, Acheson made the crucial decisions, overrode the feeble objections of the military, and received Presidential backing. On occasion Acheson hesitated, aware that as a diplomat he should not be making essentially military decisions, but then he went ahead anyway, realizing that if he did not, the nation would drift dangerously. Of the one occasion when Acheson failed to assert himself, when MacArthur planned to continue his advance toward the Yalu even after encountering Chinese troops in North Korea, Goulden is highly critical, claiming that Acheson had "the obligation" to advise Truman "when a military matter made achievement of a diplomatic/political goal difficult or impossible." What Goulden fails to analyze and assess, however, is why the President permitted such an awkward and cumbersome strategic process. Once again, the inescapable conclusion is that the Korean War revealed Truman's inadequacy as a national leader.

THE MOST GLARING American weakness during the Korean War lay in intelligence. Throughout the conflict, the Truman Administration was woefully uninformed. The North Korean invasion in June 1950 caught Washington completely by surprise, despite the massive buildup of troops and tanks just north of the 38th parallel. Truman and Acheson then immediately jumped to the conclusion that Russia was responsible for the assault, viewing Kim Il Sung as a Soviet puppet and attributing all subsequent Chinese and North Korean moves directly to Moscow. According to Goulden, MacArthur was even more confused about the Communist intentions. He consistently refused to believe reports of the impending Chinese entry in the fall of 1950, to the point where he ignored interrogations of Chinese prisoners captured in North Korea and ordered a continued advance to the Yalu.

Goulden divides the blame evenly between Tokyo and Washington. He describes General Charles Willoughby, in charge of intelligence for MacArthur, as a pompous sycophant who issued voluminous daily briefings that were filled with "minutia, unconfirmed reports and wild guesses." Instead of the hard analysis required for effective use of information, Willoughby made his reports conform to his chief's predilections. This sloppy procedure led directly to MacArthur's showdown with Truman. Having ignored the evidence of Chinese forces massing in North Korea in late 1950, MacArthur sought to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

escape the blame for the rout of his army by accusing the Truman Administration of preventing him from waging all-out war in China.

The CIA failed to offset MacArthur's inadequate intelligence operation. The agency, created in 1948, was small and untried when the fighting broke out, Goulden explains. Its early directors were second-rate military men without prestige or influence in Washington. Even worse, the CIA kept sending the President reports that summarized the raw data without offering any estimate of enemy plans or intentions. "I thought the CIA was an intelligence agency, not a bulletin board," Truman commented after one such briefing. He finally appointed Walter Bedell Smith, Eisenhower's wartime Chief of Staff, to overhaul the agency. Smith improved the CIA performance, but the level of analysis still left much to be desired. In mid-October, the agency concluded that while Chinese intervention was a possibility, "such action is not probable in 1950" unless the Soviet Union opted for "global war." The most significant impact of the Korean War on American intelligence was its expansion. When the conflict began, the CIA operated on a budget of only $4.7 million, with a staff of 302 and seven foreign stations. By 1953, the budget had grown to $82 million and there were nearly 3,000 employees and 47 overseas offices. Under Smith's leadership, the agency grew into a large and ambitious organization with enormous influence. There was no indication, however, that it had developed the analytical skill it so conspicuously lacked during the Korean War.

The Korean conflict is traditionally viewed as the nation's first limited war, yet Goulden's account makes clear that a resort to nuclear weapons was never far from the minds of American leaders. The conflict began less than a year after the Soviet Union had broken the American nuclear monopoly, at a time when the United States still possessed a commanding lead in atomic power. Although nuclear weapons came under active consideration on several occasions, Goulden exaggerates when he claims that Korea "almost became America's nuclear war."

There were two times when the Truman Administration gave serious thought to employing atomic bombs in Korea. The first was in November 1950, when the Chinese counterattack had sent American troops reeling back down below the 38th parallel. Army planners recommended that the President should issue an ultimatum to China, demanding that the Chinese evacuate Korea immediately or face the possibility of a nuclear reprisal against Manchuria. Truman indiscreetly revealed this possibility during a press conference on November 30, when he told a reporter that he was prepared to "take whatever steps are necessary" to repel the Chinese onslaught. Asked if this included the atomic bomb, the President replied, "That includes every weapon that we have," and then sent a shudder around the world by adding, "The military commander in the field will have charge of the use of the weapons, as he always does." The implication that MacArthur could order the use of the A-bomb created a furor; a few hours later the White House issued a clarifying statement pointing out that only the President could authorize an atomic attack. Strong pressure from NATO allies and the halting of the Chinese offensive by mid-December finally ended this loose talk of nuclear war.

The second occasion involving nuclear threats came late in the war, as a possible way to end the bloody stalemate. When truce talks that began in 1951 broke down over the prisoner-of-war issue, Truman expressed his frustration in his diary in January 1952. He contemplated giving the Russians a ten-day ultimatum, informing them that he planned to blockade the Chinese coast and "to destroy every military base in Manchuria . . . by means now in our control." "This means all out war," he added. Truman was apparently only letting off steam, but five months later he again confided in his diary that he would like to order the Soviets to end the Korean hostilities or face the possibility of being "completely destroyed."

WHEN EISENHOWER took office, he in fact decided to use the nuclear threat to force an end to the fighting. He permitted John Foster Dulles to pass on such a warning to China by way of India in May 1953. Not only did Dulles speak of possible nuclear attacks on Manchuria, but he also pointed out that the United States had recently developed tactical atomic shells that could be fired by artillery on the battlefield. Goulden offers no evidence of any American intention to implement this threat, but unlike Truman's diary entries, Eisenhower's nuclear diplomacy helped bring an end to the fighting in mid-1953.

Goulden's uneven book clearly demonstrates the need for more thorough study of the Korean war. Preoccupation with the tragedy of Vietnam has caused us to forget the even greater suffering and horror of the earlier conflict. The number of Americans killed, 54,246, is nearly the same as in Vietnam, 56,146, but the total loss of life was far higher in Korea. Nearly one million soldiers, including over 400,000 South Korean troops, lost their lives, and civilian casualties were estimated at between two million and three million, compared to fewer than one million in Vietnam. The ebb and flow of battle meant that fighting and destruction swept over all of Korea, destroying cities and rural areas alike. "I would say that the entire, almost the entire Korean peninsula, is just a terrible mess," commented the head of the American Far Eastern bomber command in 1951. "Everything is destroyed. There is nothing standing worthy of the name." General MacArthur agreed. "The war in Korea already almost destroyed that nation," he told a joint Congressional committee. "I have never seen such devastation."

THE SIGNIFICANCE of the Korean War is equally obscure. Goulden views it very traditionally, commending Truman for meeting the challenge of aggression, but regretting the fact that this conflict led to the military escalation of the cold war. He is wrong, however, in asserting it was "the first time America fought a war to an unvictorious conclusion"; the War of 1812 was just as barren a conflict. Others have seen the Korean War as a perversion of collective security, a war fought in the name of the United Nations yet aimed solely at advancing U.S. objectives in the cold war. Still others view it as an unnecessary American intrusion into what they consider a Korean civil war. These critical views ignore the realities of world power. In Korea the Soviet Union was attempting to enlarge its Asian sphere of influence by proxy; the American resort to arms, while clumsy at times, preserved a degree of stability in Asia which permitted Japan to retain both its economic vitality and its close ties to the West.

The greatest irony of the Korean conflict is the way in which Truman provided a precedent for the abuse of the war-making power. In June 1950, the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Administration apparently never gave much thought to traditional constitutional procedures. Intent on halting the Communist advance in Korea and taking advantage of the Soviet absence from the Security Council, Truman completely bypassed Congress to wage what he termed a "police action" in defense of collective security in Korea. The President was not trying to mislead the public; there was a heavy majority in favor of the Korean intervention and powerful support from Republican congressmen and senators for the decision to fight. Truman genuinely believed that his exercise of Presidential power was constitutionally correct. He told Averell Harriman that he felt he had to protect the power of the President "against all comers including the Congress." Turning down a suggestion that he ask Congress for support, Truman argued, "If I do it will tie the hands of a successor President."

Truman's decision had momentous consequences. In 1955, aware of his own party's criticism that his predecessor had acted unconstitutionally, Dwight Eisenhower asked Congress to give him a virtual blank check to use force to defend Formosa from Chinese attack. And in 1964 Lyndon B. Johnson used this precedent to justify the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, which became the legal basis for his conduct of the Vietnam War. Truman's concern for protecting the power of his office had instead paved the way for the subsequent erosion of the war-making authority of Congress. Had Truman not set his dangerous precedent in 1950, the nation might still have had to endure the agony of Vietnam. But it would have been far more difficult for Johnson to have committed the nation to battle without asking Congress for a declaration of war.

ROBERT A. DIVINE

Robert A. Divine, who teaches history at the University of Texas at Austin, recently edited *Exploring the Johnson Years* (University of Texas Press).

ALL IN THE FAMILY

A Mother and Two Daughters by Gail Godwin

(Viking, 564 pp., $15.95)

Gail Godwin already has to her credit a host of memorable women characters. In her five previous books—one short story collection and four novels, including the wonderful *The Odd Woman*—she has created heroines who are intelligent, independent, and ruefully humorous. They're strong, but subject to the usual human weaknesses: insomnia and late-night loneliness. They often make mistakes in their relationships with men, but their lives never totally center on these men. Unlike, say, Edna O'Brien's heroines, these women retain a core of resourcefulness and dignity. Any one of them would make a very good friend.

The women in *A Mother and Two Daughters* are recognizably Godwin women, but in varying degrees and permutations. Nell, the mother, is perhaps the most likable—old-fashioned in many ways, a nurse turned housewife, possessed of a strong sense of duty and moral obligation, but not at all passive or clinging.

Cate, her firstborn, now approaching forty, has much in common with Jane Clifford of *The Odd Woman.* She teaches in a college, lives alone, prides herself on her independence. She's also fiercely, annoyingly self-righteous, and cannot observe a single foible without sermonizing upon it endlessly. As her mother remarks, she's given to "sacrificing people to ideals."

Cate's younger sister, Lydia, is outwardly the more successful of the daughters. She's married well, has two young sons, and lives a life so efficiently organized that it's almost funny. But as the novel opens, she is entering a state of change. She and her husband have separated, and she's planning for a career of her own.

The event that brings the women together is the death of Leonard Strickland, Nell's husband and the father of Cate and Lydia. Significantly, in a novel that devotes much thought to the individual's struggle to survive in a larger society, Leonard's death is brought on at least in part by the social demands of a traditional Christmas party. The dowager queen of Mountain City—a small Southern metropolis not unlike Asheville, North Carolina—asks him first to whip up the eggnog by hand, then to see her maid safely home, which means climbing a steep hill on foot. Shortly afterward, while driving on the expressway, Leonard suffers a fatal heart attack, wrecking his car in the process and slightly injuring Nell.

In reacting to their loss, the three women are convincingly, endearingly true to themselves. Nell is still the caretaker, still smoothing troubled waters even from her hospital bed. Cate is no sooner home than she revives her stubborn feud with the dowager queen. And the practical Lydia, driving toward the funeral with a carload of frozen casseroles, reflects that the L. L. Bean wool shirt she bought her father for Christmas can be given to her husband instead.

Leonard's death is simply a point of entry for the reader. It is not (to my disappointment) one of those drawstring events that gather a plot to a single focus; but it does allow us to see how the three women act with each other before they continue on their separate courses. In the months following the funeral, Nell begins to adapt to widowhood, Cate deals with an unwanted pregnancy, and Lydia, newly single, finds herself a lover, a profession, and an interesting woman friend. We don't see the three together again until summer, after much has changed in their lives—but not, as it turns out, in their relationships with each other.

A publicity sheet that accompanies this book quotes Gail Godwin as saying that she's trying for

> a vision of America, where we've been and where we're going. . . . I see *A Mother and Two Daughters* as an attempt to penetrate, often humorously, the way a certain group of characters behave both as their stubborn unique selves, and as part of the interweaving, interacting system we call society.

She has succeeded, I believe. Certainly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the three women represent three very different styles of coping with the modern world; and their individual histories reflect enough about their culture to interest an alert sociologist. But the quotation that better sums up the virtues of this novel is the one that occurs to Leonard Strickland just before his death—a passage from Montaigne.

> To storm a breach, conduct an embassy, govern a people, those are brilliant actions. To scold, laugh . . . and deal gently and justly with one's family and oneself . . . that is something rarer, more difficult, and less noticed in the world.

A Mother and Two Daughters, has much to say about modern society, but it speaks even more affectingly and more resonantly about the tiny, cataclysmic events that make up domestic life. A grown woman, long since proven competent and successful, still has a feeling of miserable inadequacy when confronting her older sister. A wife supposedly accustomed to widowhood experiences her grief all over again when she discovers the emerging crocuses planted by her husband over twenty years ago. And her grief is unsentimental, unglorifying, and therefore all the more poignant:

> . . . Leonard hadn't been a saint. He had known quite well how to use his gentle unworldliness to evade confrontations; he exempted himself from family squabbles with a maddening sublimity: there he'd be, sitting under his earphones, rapt with opera, or in his study reading a dead Roman lawyer's letters to a friend, while the rest of them tiptoed around, hissing and smoldering at one another. He had driven her crazy many a time while he decided upon a parking place. And . . . she had lost her savor for arguing with him early in the marriage: she would lose track of her best points while waiting for him to finish a sentence.

The little world of Mountain City is as meticulously documented—the rituals of Christmas party and book club meeting; the maid who goes home to the slums every evening laden with hand-me-down clothes and leftover food, "everything in the world but the minimum wage"; the town heiress whose money comes from an ancestral energy tonic that doesn't freeze in winter. There's an observant, amused, but kindly eye at work here, and not a single cheap shot is taken at these people who might so easily have been caricatures in someone else's hands.

And any Northerner contemplating a trip South ought to read about Lydia's conquest of an elderly lady named Miss Mary McGregor Turnbull. Lydia's deference, her willingness to "place" her own last name, her chatty autobiography combined with ladylike reserve—all come straight from an invisible, but nonetheless real, etiquette book for a certain distinct segment of our culture.

BEST OF ALL, *A Mother and Two Daughters* demonstrates, once again, Gail Godwin's uncommon generosity as a storyteller. She is openhanded—she's positively spendthrift—with her tales. The most insignificant character travels on a stream of absorbing histories, past love affairs, coincidences, recurring themes. Just look at the story of Nell's semi-seduction before her marriage; or of how old Uncle Osmond lost his nose in World War I; or of Lydia's cold-blooded pursuit of her husband-to-be. Any one of these plots could possibly have been a novel on its own, or at least a short story, but Gail Godwin doesn't measure things out so penuriously. When you read one of her novels, you have a feeling of abundance.

Is *A Mother and Two Daughters* as good as *The Odd Woman*?

Is that even a fair question to ask?

The Odd Woman remains one of my all-time favorites, perhaps partly because of the element of surprise—I read it before I knew how much one could expect of Gail Godwin. *A Mother and Two Daughters* lacks that element, of course, and it suffers too from what seems to me an unnecessary summary epilogue—an epilogue that leaps too far ahead, ties things up too suddenly, and takes place, moreover, in 1984. (I don't want to sound pessimistic, but how is she so sure there's going to *be* a 1984?)

There is one improvement, though. In *A Mother and Two Daughters*, the male characters have real depth and texture. Dear Leonard Strickland, and Cate's redneck millionaire suitor, and Lydia's sweetly stuffy husband and her earnest lover—all are solidly believable. For the first time, Gail Godwin's men are equal to her women. And that's saying something.

ANNE TYLER

TRB, *from page 4*

markable three-part series in *The New Yorker*, "The Fate of the Earth." It tells you everything you didn't want to know about nuclear radiation and were afraid to ask. It tells it to you, too, in extraordinary scientific detail and with almost impermeable vocabulary. The effect on the reader is less that of connected narrative than of terrified and cumulative conviction. It is the rubble-and-ruins style of journalism.

Writer Schell and magazine *New Yorker* throw it right at you: the first installment is 66 pages long. It isn't gruesome; it just makes the point that four-and-a-half billion years after Earth's formation, man has discovered that mass and energy are interchangeable entities, and that by shifting them around a bit, the expenditure of about one-thirtieth of an ounce of mass destroys Hiroshima. Any big country with nuclear facilities can do it. Most of us put a nuclear holocaust out of our minds as unthinkable. It is the purpose of these articles to try to open the subject.

When Andrei Gromyko left Geneva recently after talking for eight hours with Secretary Haig, he said at the airport that he was sorry they had not been able to renew discussions on arms control. America rejects arms control talks during the Polish crisis. Those who are anxious about nuclear war, however, liken this taboo to punishing your enemy by shooting yourself in the foot. They will find reinforcement in the Schell articles. The argument explored here is the same one advanced by Rickover to the Congressional committee. If nations are armed with nuclear weapons, there is a terrible risk that they will use them. Schell argues that shelters do little good against blast, heat, and radiation, and that after you crawl out of one it's a dead world anyway.

I will say for Schell that he is more thorough than most in his annihilation data. Nuclear explosions have apparently already had a perceptible effect on the ozone layer that protects us from lethal solar radiation. Tests by the Space Administration in mid-1981, he says, gave preliminary findings that ozone in a region of the stratosphere some twenty-five miles up has "decreased at the rate of approximately half a percent a year over the past decade."

One good piece of news. A lot of insects seem able to survive a holocaust—for a time anyway.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New Republic Classifieds

THE NEW REPUBLIC CLASSIFIEDS IS A WEEKLY FEATURE. Ads are accepted at the discretion of the publisher. Rates: one time ad $1/word, six ads per year $.95/word, 12 ads per year $.90/word, 24 times per year $.85/word, 48 times per year $.80/word. Telephone numbers count as 2 words. P.O. Box numbers and abbreviations count as one word. Zone numbers and zip codes are not counted. Additional $4.50 for TNR box numbers. Classified display ads are $30/inch. Bold headline, signature, and inset available. Complete rate card upon request. Send your check/money order with your copy, or give us your VISA/MasterCard # and we'll charge it to your account. Copy must be received 19 days prior to the Wednesday issue date. Phone orders accepted with VISA/MasterCard only. Send copy or call collect: Theresa Miller, The New Republic Magazine, 1220 19th St., N.W., Washington, DC 20036. (202) 331-7494

Astrology

REVEREND PHYLLIS MICHELE
Psychic Consultant
PAST PRESENT FUTURE
ASTROLOGY TAROT PSYCHOMETRY
3 Questions-$10, Send Self-addressed stamped envelope, (include birthdate): 1850 N.E. 207 St., Miami, Fla. 33179
Private Appointment (305) 932-7808
"HIGH DEGREE OF ACCURACY"

Autos for Sale

SURPLUS JEEPS, CARS, TRUCKS. Car-inv. value $2,143, sold for $100. For information on purchasing similar bargains call 602-998-0575, ext. 6807. Call refundable.

Business Opportunities

How to get rich in mail order. Guaranteed. P.O. Box 8147, Montgomery, AL 36110.

MAILORDER OPPORTUNITY! Start profitable home business without experience or capital. Information free. Mail Order Associates, Dept. 448, Montvale, NJ 07645.

Buttons/Bumperstickers

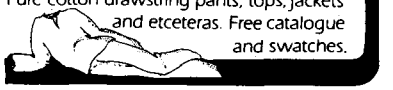
BUTTONS/BUMPERSTICKERS/CUSTOM PRINTED (union shop). Lowest Movement prices (since 1961!). Largest variety social awareness items in stock for immediate shipment. Free catalog. Larry Fox, Box M-4, Valley Stream, NY 11582. (516) 791-7929.

Camps

DELINQUENCY CONTROL.
Teens to early 20's, in trouble at home, school, with drugs, alcohol, the law—or heading that way, send him/her to the Mts. for our life-changing program. Reality based teaching approach. Limited enrollment. Non-discrim. Dedicated staff. Licensed. BE CENTER, Gerton, NC 28735. (704) 625-4653.

Clothing

PURE COMFORT
Pure cotton drawstring pants, tops, jackets and etceteras. Free catalogue and swatches.



Deva a cottage industry
Box NRP/Burkittsville, MD 21718

Collectibles

BRING THE POWERFUL AND FAMOUS INTO YOUR HOME for pennies by collecting autographs. $3.50 brings complete instruction. Pumpkin Press, Box 1072, Youngstown, OH 44501-1072.

Colleges/Universities

SELF-DESIGNED INDEPENDENT STUDY.
The M.A. or B.A. scholar working off-campus receives support and criticism from a faculty advisor. Study reflects the student's needs, interests and aspirations. Student designs study plan with faculty assistance. Plans are frequently transdisciplinary, integrating theory with practice drawing on resources in student's community. Adult Degree Program B.A. students have 12-day residencies twice yearly; twelve semesters annually. M.A. students have no residency, but work with field faculty in the student's community. Financial aid available. Equal opportunity admissions. Admissions Office, Box, NR1, The Goddard Programs, Vermont College, Montpelier, VT 05602. (802) 229-0522.

Conferences

ada ROOSEVELT CENTENNIAL CONFERENCE
MARCH 5-7 WASHINGTON, D.C.
The liberal tradition of the Roosevelt's examined by renowned speakers addressing today's challenges. For information contact:
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
SUITE 850 • 1411 K STREET, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 • (202) 638-6447

Employment Opportunities

INTERNATIONAL EMPLOYMENT HOTLINE
Monthly issues reveal current opportunities for career and temporary overseas employment
DISCOVER WHAT'S WAITING FOR YOU IN THE WORLD—AND HOW TO GET IT NOW!

YES! Connect me to **HOTLINE** information on current international employment opportunities every month. Send me:
☐ (US) $26.00 One year subscription
☐ (US) $18.00 Six month subscription
☐ (US) $13.50 Three month trial subscription
Enclosed $_____ ☐ Check ☐ Money Order
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Include (US) $5.00 for subscriptions outside U.S. and Canada send with payment to: International Employment Hotline, 4216 West 12th St., Suite AA, Little Rock, AR 72204.

Financial

Remember April 15? Stop paying taxes! Report, $2.00 cash. P.O. Box 33, East Greenbush, NY 12061.

The Great Escapes

JAMAICA. Affordable, staffed beachfront villa. Sailing, tennis. (202) 244-1711.

THE TAMWORTH INN—A restored village inn (circa 1830) in New Hampshire's ski country. Gourmet restaurant. Cozy pub. Call (603) 323-7721.

Cruise lovely English canals. *England Afloat*, Box 2083, Springfield, MA 01101. Tel. (413) 736-5937.

SAILING ADVENTURE: St. Vincent/The Grenadines. 44' sailing yacht, skippered, provisioned, $2800 per week for four. Contact: W.T. Sena, 207 Cincinnati Ave., Lebanon, OH 45036.

SANTA FE. Bed and breakfast in private home. $140 weekly per couple. Lyons, Rt. 4, Box 21C, Santa Fe, NM 87501. (505) 988-7542.

Health/Beauty

Lavender, potpourri, herbs, spices, essential oils, containers, soaps, pressed flower originals. Wholesale/retail catalogue, 50c. Potpourri Crafting booklet, $2.50. Tom Thumb Workshops, Box 3496-NR, Alexandria, VA 22302.

Instruction

SLEEP-LEARNING tapes, books! Strange catalog free. Autosuggestion, Box 24-NR, Olympia, WA 98507.

Literature

"LET ME DIE BEFORE I WAKE" and "JEAN'S WAY," unique books on self-deliverance for the dying. Available through Hemlock, P.O. Box 66218, Los Angeles, CA 90066. Send SASE or call (213) 391-1871.

Literary Services

Professional writing, editing, research. M&T Associates, Box 8366, Chicago, 60680. (312) 327-2582.

FRED'S BOOK SERVICE. Free world wide search for titles desired. Write to P.O. Box 1390, Ansonia Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10023.

Personal

Wifey, Happy Flotsam Day, Husbind.

Pom, Happy Harrison's Birthday, Taul.

"50 Ways To See Through People." Protect yourself! Powerful guide! Send $1 to: NEWLIFE, Box 684-UR, Boulder City, NV 89005.

BEEN LOOKING FOR LOVE IN ALL THE WRONG PLACES? Find your main squeeze in *The Little Black Book*. 100 eligible bachelors listed. La creme de la creme. At bookstores now for only $3.95.

Literate Singles meet/publish via Contact High. Details FREE (sample $2): Box 500-NR, Mendocino, CA 95460.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WORLDWIDE FRIENDSHIP. Select countries, interests, languages. Information: INTERNATIONAL PENFRIENDS, Box 826 (NR), Goldenrod, FL 32733.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS get the cultured, single, widowed or divorced acquainted. Nationwide. Write Box AE, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania 19081 Established 1970 [or call (215) 566-2132].

GAY? Meet intelligent, interesting people. Quick-Confidential-Legitimate. Call now. CONTACT℠ (212) 794-0050. Nationwide.

UNATTACHED? Meet sincere, literate singles—anywhere. Call DATELINE-free 800-451-3245.

SINGLE MUSIC LOVERS brings together people who already share a common bond: their love of the same kind of music. Nationwide. Box 1381-S, Rapid City, SD 57709.

Far East correspondents seek American correspondents. Cherry Blossoms, Hanokaa, HI 96727.

JEWISH SINGLES—meet friendly, intelligent, high-quality professional Jewish men & women. Monday-Thursday, 1 pm - 8 pm (212) 734-5566.

SCANDINAVIAN LADIES, 18-65, sincere, seek correspondence/friendship. Details: Scannaclub/9C, Box 4, Pittsford, NY 14534.

Posters

The Legendary Unicorn uniquely captured in an amusing pose, can be yours for only $6.95, 2 for $13.00. An original art poster, 18″ × 22″ ready to frame in full color. Order yours today! OUR SOLUTION, P.O. Box 403, Lake Bluff, IL 60044 (IL residents add 6%—Allow 4-6 weeks for delivery).

Property Sale/Rent

NANTUCKET ISLAND—Contemporary house, fully furnished. Near uncrowded, endless beaches. 6 miles from town. Weekly, monthly. (216) 721-2322 Evenings. (216) 391-3885 Days.

Windham, VT. Classic farm, 42 acres, modern, completely furnished, equipped. Near all recreation. $550/month-annually. $750/month-ski season. Evenings (201) 778-7999.

Tuscon Arizona: Buy homes, land, etc. Free Information. Reputable Roy Long Realty. M. J. Barrett, 5671 N. Oracle Rd. 85704.

Publications

PENTAGON PAPERS Gravel Edition (Beacon 1971). Documentation and analysis of US involvement in Vietnam. "For any citizen who wishes to understand how his government behaves and why, these volumes are essential reading." Noam Chomsky. Almost 3000 pages, 6 × 9, mint condition paperback. $25 per set, 4 volumes; modest supply from Passim Publishing, P.O. Box 317, Wellesley Hills, MA 02181.

UNITY, SHARING, PEACE, PLENTY—the sequence for establishing a new economic order. Send for the World Goodwill Newsletter, *Formulating the Economics of Intelligent Love*. World Goodwill, Dept. R, 866 United Nations Lane Plaza, New York, NY 10017-1888.

"I HOPE YOU'RE ALL REPUBLICANS!!! CONTROVERSIAL QUOTATIONS FROM RONALD W. REAGAN" by Alan and Wendy Miller. RWR in word and illustration on: Environment, Human Rights, Foreign Policy and more. $5.95 postpaid from: Catalyst Press, P.O. Box 5863, Berkeley, CA 94705.

"DOG PAUSE . . ." Delightful household humor book. Great gift. $5 for single copy; $9 for two. Tri State Promotions, Box 30926, Amarillo, TX 79120.

OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS TWICE A MONTH for writers/photographers and editors/publishers. Since 1969 Freelancer's Newsletter has provided profitable information to freelancers across the country. Bonus: Computerized resume and referral service! For sample copy, send $3 and self-addressed, stamped #10 envelope to: Dept. 18; 307 Westlake Drive, Austin, TX 78746.

WHY PAY MORE? Read "HOW TO BUY A NEW CAR (And *Not* Lose Your Shirt)" and see how much you can save. $3.25 ppd. Springhill Press, P.O. Box 1762, Silver Spring, MD 20902.

Recipes

Whole grain, whole wheat bread. Quick, easy, no kneading, one rising. $1, SASE. P.O. Box 161611, Sacramento, CA 95816-1611.

Religion

JESUS FICTIONAL! Positive proof Flavius Josephus created Jesus, authored Gospels. Booklet, $3.00—Vector, Box 6215-N, Bellevue, WA 98007.

For Sale

STUNNING HAND-MADE LACE from village of Lefkara in Cyprus. Two years in the making. Rare. Ms. Nichols. (202) 338-2052 leave message.

Services

FIRST CLASS WRITER-SPEAKER available to assist and/or represent liberal, democratic, culturally-oriented operations, organizations. TNR 9965.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS BY A GRADUATE OF THE GRAPHOLOGY Workshop. New School for Social Research, $20.00. Mary L. Orloff, 1540 York Ave., New York, NY 10028.

T-Shirts

SOLIDARNOŚĆ T-Shirts. Show support for Polish union struggle. Red letters on White or Light Blue. S, M. L, XL. 100% cotton. $6.50 + $1.50 (shipping) ea. Shirt. Bumperstickers, $1.00 ea. Send check or money order to KENMARCO, 1550 California Street, Suite 6L-183B, San Francisco, CA 94109.

Etc.

NATURAL FIBERS DIRECTORY—90 mail order businesses offering natural fiber alternatives for the home and body. $2.75 postpaid. DEVA NCH, Burkittsville, MD 21718.

Gardengrace Wind Chimes. Handmade and signed by Jim Pulley, $45. Victory Codes, P.O. Box 4606, Whittier, CA 90607-4606.

TIPPER'S TABLE. Wallet-size card for figuring 15% tips. $1. Rithmetics, Box 720, Tillamook, OR 97141.

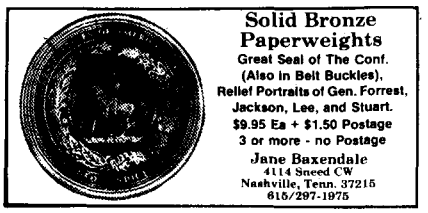
BABY/TODDLER cotton clothing, etc., vegetarian baby book. Free catalog. Natural Child, Dept. NR, 5220 Puget Rd. NE, Olympia, WA 98506.

50 CLEAN ORIGINAL JOKES. $1, S.A.S.E. Box 1401, Wartburg College, Waverly, IA 50677.

WEATHER ENTHUSIASTS: Cloud Chart, Shelter, Plans, Pamphlets, Climatology—$10.00. HOBBY WEATHER, Box 5354, Charleston, WV 25311-0354.

BONSAI TREES, PLANTS, POTS , BOOKS, SUPPLIES. Catalog, $1.00 deductible. Bonsai Farm, 13827 Hwy. 87 South-NP, Adkins, TX 78101. (Near San Antonio)

DO YOU THINK REAGONOMICS STINKS? Join thousands of Americans who carry the perfect symbol of your sentiments. Send $2.00 and S.A.S.E. to: Bonzo Enterprises, P.O. Box 691, Bay City, MI 48706.



The New Amazing Headlight Reminder
Saves car batteries & expensive tows!
Leaving headlights on is an agonizing experience. You never forget again with "Headlight Reminder". It "BUZZ-ZZ" loudly to warn that headlights are still on. Installed easily to fuse box. It can be sold via Mail Order, Service Stations, Auto-clubs, Auto-parts Stores, Hardware Stores, Flearmarkets, and Party Planners. Retail for $9.95 ea.
Sample-demo/$5.95, 2-10/5.45, 11-50/4.95, 51-100/4.45
101-200/3.95
Send cheque or M.O. to
NR2
WARREN IMPORTS Dept
725 Don Mills Road Ste 207, Don Mills, Ontario
Canada M3C 1S7
MONEY BACK GUARANTEED!

Sell It, Rent It, Trade It, Find It

When you place your ad in The New Republic classifieds, you place your ad in front of over 250,000 readers for $1.00 a word per issue or $30 per column inch for camera ready copy. If you would like TNR to prepare a display ad for you, call for free estimates. If you've never advertised in our classified section before, you're eligible for our "3 FOR 2" INTRODUCTORY OFFER! Pay for two insertions and we'll throw in the third one FREE. *(Further rate information on preceding page.)*

Send check/money order or MasterCard/Visa # along with ad copy. Phone orders accepted with MasterCard/Visa only. Send copy or call collect: Theresa Miller, The New Republic, 1220 19th St., NW, Washington, DC, 20036. (202) 331-7494.

I'LL DO IT! Enclosed is prepayment along with my ad copy. Please run my ad _____ times.

_____

_____

_____

_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Buffalo Diarist

Snow and Steel

THE WORD BUFFALO has become synonymous with snow, sleet, gloom, and Northern industrial decline. I grew up in Buffalo, and tend to take this personally, so when I recently returned home for a visit, I was pleased to see the city fighting back. Buffalo now has an official slogan: "We're Talking Proud." People wear "Talking Proud" neckties and ski caps, and "Talking Proud" ads dominate the local media. One commercial begins, "Hey America, did you know the windshield wiper was invented here? And the cocktail? And that Buffalo has the nation's only inland naval park?" Another is more lyrical: "We get a gentle prevailing wind off our lake that gives our city four distinctive weather seasons." And, finally, there is the peremptory: "Listen up, America, this is Buffalo talking. We're tired of your insults. We like it here. We're not going to take your abuse any longer. So back off, America!"

THE MOST DISTINCTIVE of Buffalo's four seasons, as everyone knows, is winter. Yes, it snows a lot, but the snow has little or no effect on life and commerce. A few years back, eleven inches of snow fell on Buffalo between midnight and dawn on Christmas morning. That amount of snow would have rendered Chicago impassable till spring. But at 9 a. m. my 83-year-old grandfather appeared at our door. He had driven himself over, and reported that the roads were clear.

ADMITTEDLY, Buffalo has problems. Its metro population fell 9 percent during the last decade, and three of the city's four major industries (steel, chemicals, autos, and flour) are in tailspins. Buffalo has perhaps the lowest housing cost of any major city, a fact that the Chamber of Commerce valiantly tries to turn into a boast. A house worth $99,000 in San Diego would sell in Buffalo for $55,000. I took a drive through Black Rock, Buffalo's riverside industrial district. At the turn of the century, Black Rock teemed with machines and immigrants. Money was changing hands, backs were being broken, products were coming off the line; old-time factories might be torture chambers for workers, but they were very good at shaking up the class system. When I was a kid, Black Rock was still bustling. Many plants ran three shifts. I remember churning factories bathed in worklights against the dead night, with men and trucks moving in every direction. But now Black Rock looks like a movie set. The long rail bridges to Canada, where trains once shuttled like streetcars, are nearly forgotten. I saw lights only at the corner bars and over the billboard advertising Izod golf shirts.

BUT BUFFALO STILL COULD take a turn for the better. After all, the Bills are winning again, which means more to loyal Buffalonians than the fate of entire Latin American nations. Buffalo continues to enjoy cheap electricity from the huge hydro-generating station that straddles Niagara Falls. Bethlehem Steel just announced a multimillion-dollar renovation for its Lackawanna plant; Harrison Radiator is calling some workers back from layoffs. But rebuilt Buffalo will offer fewer blue-collar jobs. When companies like Bethlehem finally modernize, as critics have demanded, they'll need fewer workers per ton produced. There also will be fewer families, even in bedrock Buffalo. As the population declined 9 percent in the 1970s, the number of households *rose* 8 percent—meaning more divorces and walkouts and abstentions. The average Buffalo household is now 2.4 people, a figure one might expect to find in Marin County.

DOWNTOWN BUFFALO, in spite of it all, is alive with activity. Construction proceeds on Waterfront Village, a chic $177-million complex of condominiums and restaurants set on a new yacht marina. One part of the complex, Rivermist, offers that traditional necessity of the peppermint schnapps set, "individual boat slips for each homeowner." A second wing is called Harbour Pointe, and a third, Harbour Place, where condos are selling at $334,000 (remember, that equals $650,000 in San Diego). The price includes valet parking and "a concierge on duty round the clock." All in recession-wracked Buffalo. Main Street is being ripped up for an all-new, federally funded subway. It will run from downtown to the University of Buffalo, whose campus forms the buffer zone between the inner city and the comfortable white suburbs. There are several proposals to lengthen the system. Local political sources say it is likely to be extended past the campus into Amherst, the area's wealthiest and whitest enclave. Amherst needs federally subsidized mass transit about as badly as Black Rock needs alligator shirts. Not surprisingly, it is the Congressional district of urban reformer Jack Kemp.

YACHTS ARE BOBBING in the lake, valets are parking cars, while old industrial Buffalo fades. As the professional "information industry" (which consists of people selected by academic credentials) replaces heavy manufacturing (which gives decent jobs even to people whose fathers couldn't put them through college), greater distance between social classes becomes likely, as do greater gaps in income. People used to complain that Buffalo didn't have any fancy restaurants. Now there are at least a dozen, even as the city is supposed to be reeling economically. There didn't used to be many well-heeled Buffalonians, but there weren't many shoeless ones, either. Today the differences in different parts of town are much more clearly demarked, and the middle ground much harder to find. Buffalo, once a big sooty lump, seems striated. There's another difference. As a kid in Buffalo, I saw a lot of social tensions among gangs, but few of the racial or ethnic variety. Everybody more or less had the same kind of job and made the same kind of money. Intellectuals sneer at working America as a sump of bigotry, but I've usually found my blue-collar friends more genuinely tolerant than my white-collar friends. True racial acceptance can better be learned in plants and public schools than in waterfront condos. But now the factories are shuttered, and the dividing lines between lawyers and illiterates increasingly clear. Buffalo's still a good place to live, deserving better than it gets. But it's not a melting pot anymore. Little in this country is, and that, not snow, may bring a real chill to Buffalo.

GREGG EASTERBROOK

Gregg Easterbrook is a staff writer for the *Atlantic*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Property of
AMBASSADOR COLLEGE LIBRARY
Big Sandy, Texas

The Bell System is giving American orchestras a hand.

The Bell System American Orchestras on Tour program is taking 30 major symphony orchestras to over 280 cities across the United States.

It's our way of helping orchestras reach places and people they might not have reached before—not merely an extension of our business, but a part of it.

Our commitment to quality goes beyond keeping your communications system the best in the world. It also extends to reaching people from coast to coast with fine music.

Bell System

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED